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IRELAND,

ITS HISTORY, PAST AND PRESENT,

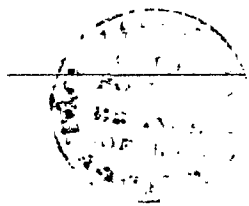
ELUCIDATED.

32936

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES CAMPBELL,

AUTHOR OF "A BRITISH ARMY, AS IT WAS, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE,"
ALSO OF "EXCURSIONS, ADVENTURES, AND FIELD-SPORTS
IN CEYLON."



LONDON:
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1847.

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TO

HIS GRACE,

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

My Lord Duke,

I trust your Grace will not consider me presumptuous if, without permission, I venture respectfully to dedicate this very imperfect work upon Ireland, to you, as Chairman of *The National Protestant Club.*

In the midst of severe monetary pressure and commercial distress—when the effects of Free-trade theories and overwhelming speculation in Railways are beginning to be seriously felt—when the disturbances and convulsions which desolate Ireland, and the critical state of foreign affairs stare us in the face, the country has a right to ask how are we prepared for fast coming events?—Where are the numerous and imposing Fleets we ought to be ready to launch forth upon the ocean?—What is the state, at this moment, of the military institutions of the country?—It is known to the world, and particularly to those foreign Governments which hope to profit by the circumstances, that Great Britain and Ireland are neither protected by an adequate Regular Army nor a *constitutional* Militia. The armed Irish, evidently, are no longer to be ruled by the Civil Power; and this being the case, they must be put down and overawed by a large and efficient military force. Such a force cannot be created in a day, and I apprehend not in many years by the present mode of enlistment. Great Britain's present fine, but limited in numbers, standing army, scattered over the world, has been the surprising creation of good officers and non-commissioned officers, in spite of the obstructions of an unwise pinching

and saving system pursued since the peace of 1815. The part of this army in Ireland is entirely absorbed by the necessities of that fearfully distracted country.

The consequence of this state of things is a decline of British influence abroad, which renders Lord Palmerston, when he assumes a high tone in diplomatic negociations, somewhat ridiculous. The Empire has a right to expect that as soon as Parliament meets, the Government will be prepared to bring forward such a measure as will insure an indispensable addition to the Regular Army, and the immediate formation of an Army of Reserve sufficient for the defence of the country, and to compel Irishmen to be tranquil and submissive to the laws.

I regret I cannot coincide with your Grace in opinion that, any system of National Education adopted, "should be conducted by the ministers of religion," as it could only lead to contention and confusion; but, if in the following pages, I have been able, in any measure, to promote the general objects which your Grace and those associated with you have so much at heart, it will, with the feeling of having been useful to Irishmen of all classes, be considered by me, a sufficient recompense for the labour and difficulties I have had to encounter, in collecting and arranging materials, intended to throw light upon what has been so long obscured by jealousy, prejudice, and other causes—the past and present deeply interesting History of Ireland.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's obedient humble servant,

JAMES CAMPBELL,

Lieut.-Colonel, and J. P.

RAVENSDALE, ISLE OF MAN.
November 12, 1847.

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IRELAND,

ETC.

SECTION I.

"It is therefore certain, that the Milesians, from the time they first conquered Ireland, down to the reign of Ollamh Fodhla, made use of no other arms of distinction in their banners than a dead serpent and the rod of Moses, after the example of their Gadelian ancestors."

It is universally allowed that Ireland wants many things, but there is nothing she wants so much as a concise and cheap history of some of the most important events which have taken place in it, even from the earliest periods. If the fruits of our researches, contained in the following pages, can in any way be serviceable to an historian, he is most welcome to make what use he pleases of them.

We intend only cursorily to notice the traditional, and what can scarcely be otherwise looked upon, by the world in general, than as fabulous accounts of the several invasions of Ireland—one of them *before the deluge*—or the different tribes who, successively, took and kept for a time possession of it.

The most remarkable of these were the Tuatha de Danans, who were the descendants of persons who followed Faidh, the third son of a prince named Nemedius, out of Ireland, when the Fomorians, an African tribe, made themselves masters of it and enslaved its inhabitants. Rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression of those—as Irish history styles them—pirates, (who however appear to have been sufficiently civilized to have been able to teach the Tuatha de Danans to build with stone and lime,) they left

the Island, and, according to what is looked upon as the best account, that of Pomponius Mela, "landed in Achaia, a country of Greece, that borders on Bœotia, near the city of Thebes." It is stated in Irish history that it was there the Tuatha de Danans acquired that extraordinary skill in necromancy and enchantment which enabled them, as it is asserted, to work miracles, and even, to all appearance, raise the dead. Though the Tuatha de Danans had acquired such a knowledge of these diabolical arts, they at length became apprehensive of falling into the hands of the Assyrians, whom they had offended; or rather into those of their more powerful than themselves, and jealous adversaries, the Assyrian Sorcerers or Druids, upon whom they had in vain attempted to practise their acquired arts; they therefore came to the resolution of quitting the country, and wandering from place to place; they at length arrived in Denmark and Norway, where they were welcomed with much hospitality by the inhabitants, who admired and respected them on account of their great learning, skill in magic, and the wonderful effects of their enchantments.

Having resided for some time in those northern regions, instructing their rude but hospitable and warlike entertainers, they once more determined to set out in search of new and better settlements in more southern latitudes. They remained seven years in the north of, what is now called, Scotland; and from thence, with greatly increased numbers, they removed into Ireland, where, resolving permanently to establish themselves, they set fire to and destroyed their ships.

Greatly aided in their views of conquest by the influence arising from the awe inspired in the minds of the Firbolgs, the then masters of the island, by the astonishing enchantments practised by their Druids, which caused them to look upon the Tuatha de Danans as gods, they commenced

military operations under such favourable circumstances, that, after some severe contests, they acquired possession of it.

We must here observe that it is impossible sufficiently to appreciate what Mr. Petrie, Vice President of the Royal Irish Academy, has achieved towards elucidating, by means of antiquarian researches, the ancient and deeply interesting history of Ireland, as contained in ancient manuscripts. His great labour and perseverance must, however, before long, be attended with results as surprising as valuable. In the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, in speaking of the wars we have just alluded to, between the Tuatha de Danans and the Firbolgs, Mr. Petrie says, that in the old manuscripts of the twelfth century, which are, for the most part, transcripts and compilations from much earlier authorities, it is stated as a fact, which has received the usual credit of the mythical tales of antediluvian history, that in the great contests between the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danans, centuries before the Christian era, the Firbolgs were defeated in the battle of North Moy Tuiry, and driven across the Bay of Ballisadare into the peninsula of Cuilirra, on the south of the Bay of Sligo, and that King Eochy was killed in crossing the strait. In this peninsula there is found at this day, a space of about a square mile, which a few years ago presented one series of circles of stones, each with its cromlech in the centre, and of which no less than sixty-five circles were marked by Mr. Petrie in the Ordnance Map. These, we imagine, have been too hastily pronounced to be only sepulchral, and not Druidical monuments; because in all the circles, and beneath all the cromlechs, cinerary urns and burnt bones, and other indications of interments, are universally found; and in the middle, beneath one of the largest cromlechs, and covered with what is usually called

a cairn, have been discovered, not only human remains, but a vast mass of bones, chiefly of horses, such as have been found in other parts of Ireland, and lately in the County of Meath. Now in all the battle-fields of the Firbolgs, Mr. Petrie adds, that similar stone monuments are found, as at the Northern Moy Tuiry in Sligo, and at the Southern Moy Tuiry in Mayo. But we shall see hereafter that, it is impossible, after what we shall lay before the reader, respecting the Druids, to say that what have always been considered as Druidical circles, were not used, either temporarily or permanently, as places both of worship and interment. But there is a singular and striking peculiarity in the Cuilirra cemetery, coinciding with the statements in the ancient manuscripts. The history states that the king was killed in crossing the water. And at this day, nearly in the centre of the vast tract of level sand in the Bay of Ballisadare, from which the sea retires at low tides, and where the Bay is there still fordable, there rises above high-water mark a cairn of stones, marking the very spot where the king fell. We shall see, as we proceed, from what is contained in similar old Irish manuscripts, and supported by traditions, in how surprising a manner many important points in Irish history are thus confirmed or elucidated, as in the interesting instance of this cairn in the Bay of Ballisadare.

We cannot for a moment imagine that our endeavours to collect and arrange materials for our own use, with a view to enable us the more easily to acquire a knowledge of Ireland, can be construed into an attempt, on our part, to write a history of that country, or of its people, for such a task we feel altogether incompetent. But we must say, that Mr. Moore's recently published History of Ireland has greatly, and, in almost every respect, disappointed us. And we cannot consider him justified in looking, with

the contempt he appears to do, upon the patriotic endeavours of all those who have gone before him in the same intricate path, to record what they had been taught to look upon as *historical*, to be little better than imaginary or fabulous. We must also add that, after our own inquiries, and what we have reaped as their fruits, we are equally surprised and grieved, that Mr. Moore, the hitherto enthusiastic admirer and extoller of his country and his countrymen, their talents and genius, should thus express himself, as regards Ireland's materials for her history, even from the earliest periods; this is no better than, in some respects, the prejudiced Sir John Temple (as we shall see hereafter), thought of them:—"it is a task ungracious and painful, more especially to one accustomed from his early days to regard, through a poetic medium, the ancient fortunes of his country, to be obliged, at the stern call of historical truth, not only to surrender his own illusions on the subject, but to undertake also the invidious task of dispelling the dreams of others who have not the same imperative motives of duty or responsibility for disenchanting themselves of so agreeable an error. That the popular belief in this national tale should so long have been cherished and persevered in, can hardly be a subject of much wonder. So consolatory to the pride of a people for ever struggling against the fatality of their position, has been the fondly imagined epoch of those old Milesian days, when, as they believe, the glory of arts and arms, and all the blessings of civilization came in the train of their heroic ancestors from the coasts of Spain, that hitherto none but the habitual revilers and depreciators of Ireland, the base scribes of a dominant party and sect, have ever thought of calling in question the authenticity of a legend to which a whole nation had long clung with retrospective pride, and which substituting, as it does, a mere phantom of glory for true historical fame,

has served them so mournfully in place of real independence and greatness. Even in our own times, all the most intelligent of those writers who have treated of ancient Ireland, have each, in turn, adopted the tale of Milesian colonization, and lent all the aid of their learning and talent to elevate it into history. But, even in their hands, the attempt has proved an utter failure; nor could any effort, indeed, of ingenuity succeed in reconciling the improbabilities of a story, which in no other point of view differs from the fictitious origins invented for their respective countries by Huribald, Suffridas, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and others, than in having been somewhat more ingeniously put together by its inventors, and far more fondly persevered in by the imaginative people, whose love of high ancestry it flatters, and whose wounded pride it consoles."

It appears to Mr. Moore, that the ancient Scots were a people from the North of Europe; the traditions that they came from Spain, he conceives, refer to Phœnician voyagers, who, ages before, carried on a commercial intercourse betwixt Ireland and the coast of Gallicia. But why he should thus reject these traditions, or what is asserted in old Irish Chronicles and annals, we cannot understand, unless it be for the sake of singularity: for all of them go to prove, that these Scots were descendants of Milesius, and that they took their name from Scota, Milesius's widow, who accompanied her sons from Gallicia into Ireland. Evidently Mr. Moore has allowed his mind to be wholly influenced by what is asserted respecting the Carthaginians. In the prosperous times of Carthage, about the fifth century before the Christian era, two expeditions are said to have been fitted out for maritime discovery. One, commanded by Hanno, sailed southward. "The other under Himilco, steering northwards by the

coast of Spain, from thence stretched across to the Estrummides, or Tin Isles (the Scilly Isles), two days sail from which is the larger *Sacred Isle*, inhabited by the Hiberni: and in the neighbourhood of the latter, the Island of the Albiones extends." Mr. Moore says,—"In this short but circumstantial sketch, the features of Ireland are brought into view far more prominently than those of Britain. After a description of the hide-covered boats, or currachs, in which the inhabitants of those islands navigated their seas, the populousness of the Isles of the Hiberni, and the turfy nature of its soil, are commemorated. But the remarkable fact contained in this record—itself of such antiquity—is, that Ireland was then, and had been from ancient times, designated '*The Sacred Island.*' This reference of the date of her early renown, to times so remote as to be in Himilco's days ancient, carries the imagination, it must be owned, far back into the depths of the past, yet hardly further than the steps of history will be found to accompany its flight."

It is asserted, that from the records of the above expedition, preserved in a temple at Carthage, Festus Avienus obtained the materials of this description of Ireland, for his Latin poem "De Oris Maritimis;" written in the fourth century. Ireland, it is supposed, derived her title of the "*Sacred Island,*" from the fact of her having become "the chosen depository of the Phœnician worship in these seas." This superstition consisted in the adoration of the Sun, and of the elements; and Mr. Moore conceives, that for the celebration of the rites of this worship the round towers were erected. Mr. Moore adds:—"But the fragment of antiquity, the most valuable for the light it throws upon this point (its being called the *Sacred Island*), is that extracted from an ancient geographer, by Strabo, in which we are told of an island near Britain,

where sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proserpine, in the same manner as at Samothrace in the Ægean, was a favourite seat of idolatrous worship and resort; and on its shores the Cabiric mysteries had been established by the Phœnicians. These rites were dedicated to the deities who presided over navigation; and it was usual for mariners to stop at this island on their way to distant seas, and offer up a prayer at its shrines for propitious winds and skies. From the words of the geographer quoted by Strabo, combined with all the other evidence adduced, it may be inferred, that Ireland had become the Samothrace, as it were, of the western seas; that thither the ancient Cabiric gods had been wafted by the early colonizers of that region; and that as the mariner used on his departure from the Mediterranean to breathe a prayer in the Sacred Island of the East, and in the seas beyond the Pillars, he found another sacred Island, where to the same tutelary deities of the deep, his vows and thanks were offered on his safe arrival.

"In addition to all this confluence of evidence from high authentic sources, we have likewise the traditions of Ireland herself;—pointing invariably in the same eastern direction,—her monuments, the names of her promontories and hills, her old usages and rites, all bearing indelibly the same Oriental stamp. In speaking of traditions, I mean not the fables which may in later times have been grafted upon them; but those old popular remembrances, transmitted from age to age, which in all countries, furnish a track for the first footsteps of history, when cleared of those idle weeds of fiction by which in time they become overgrown."

We trust we shall be pardoned for observing that, Mr. Moore, like too many learned men of the present day, ventures to doubt or deny the truth of every thing asserted

or set forth by any ancient writer or historian, unless he happens to have been a Greek or a Roman; when, no one is to dare to question either his veracity or accuracy; and he thus, seemingly, and without remorse or regret, rejects almost all Ireland's long prized traditions, ancient chronicles and annals. We, however, take the liberty of viewing them in a very different light to that in which he has, we presume to say, too rashly done. And allow us to ask—has he not, in drawing his conclusions respecting the Phœnicians, or rather Carthaginians, allowed his mind to be influenced by what is contained in the following announcement?—"In reference to a paragraph, which has taken the round of the principal literary periodicals in Europe, Sir William Betham has received a letter from Senor da Costa de Macedo, Secretary to the Royal Academy of Lisbon, stating that the story of the discovery of the translation, by Philo Biblius, of the lost books of Sanchoniathan's history of the Phœnicians, in the Convent of St. Maria de Marenhas, at Oporto, is totally void of foundation. The paragraph alluded to was a literary hoax —there is no such convent. The Royal Irish Academy being in correspondence with most foreign Literary and Scientific Societies, have been enabled to detect and expose this stupid piece of waggery." As it is not likely that we shall again notice Mr. Moore's History; we shall therefore now take leave of him, with a request that he will duly weigh, and endeavour to digest, the following able, and we conceive, conclusive arguments, of the Editor of the "*Dublin Penny Journal*," (Vol. 1. p. 83.)

"The early civilization of Ireland has been a favourite theme with the Irish writers of Milesian origin, for nearly two centuries, while all claims to any removal from utter barbarism, previous to the arrival of the English, have generally been denied with equal warmth by Anglo-Irish

and other writers. Prejudices, springing chiefly from political feelings, have equally blinded both sides, and an able and impartial work on the ancient state of Ireland is still a desideratum. We may smile at the description of the "architectonical magnificence" of the palace of Eamania, erected 354 years before our era, given on the authority of a Bardic writer in the magniloquent pages of O'Connor; or laugh outright at the visionary O'Halloran's account of the sculptured effigies on the tombs of the Pagan kings at the Royal Cemetery of Cruchan, derived from the poem of Torna Egeas, a bard of the fourth century. The very passage cited, so far from being evidence for the circumstances they relate, are only stubborn proofs of the comparatively modern manufacture of the poems in which they occur. Yet we are not rashly to infer that the ancient Irish must necessarily have been savage, because enthusiastic writers have endeavoured to prove them civilized on insufficient data. Let us look on the other side, and we shall find the charges of ignorance and barbarism resting on no better foundation. One or two examples will suffice: "There is, at this day," says Sir William Petty, "no monument or real argument, that when the Irish were first invaded, they had any stone housing at all, any money, any foreign trade, nor any learning but the legends of the Saints, Psalter, Missals, Rituals, &c.; viz. no Geometry, Astronomy, Anatomy, Architecture, Engineering, Painting, Carving, nor any kind of Manufacture, nor the least use of Navigation, or the Art Military." We cannot laugh at this tirade, for we confess we have some drops of Milesian blood in our veins, but in Sir William's own style, we shall for the present observe, that we have abundant monuments and real arguments to prove that the above remarks, as applied by him to the period immediately preceding the arrival of the English, are a tissue of false-

hoods, without the least admixture of truth. Yet his is moderate language compared with that of the learned but dogmatic John Pinkerton. "The contest," he observes, "between those Irish writers and the literati of Europe, is the most risible in the world. The former say, their country was highly civilized, had letters and academies as the Greeks and Romans. The latter say, the Greeks we know, and the Romans we know, but who are ye? Those Greeks and Romans pronounce you not only barbarous, but utterly savage. Where are your authorities against this? In the name of science, of argument, of common sense, where are the slightest marks of ancient civilization among you? Where are the ruins of cities? Where inscriptions? Where ancient coins? Where is the least trace of ancient art or science in your whole island? The old inhabitants of your country, the wild Irish, the true Milesian breed, untainted with Gothic blood, we know to be rude clans to this day. Can a nation once civilized become savage? Impossible,—such a nation may be lost in effeminacy, as the modern Italians and Greeks, but will ever bear marks of the excess, not the want of civilization." Milesian reader, what say you to this? You are struck dumb. Well, we shall take up the shillelagh in your defence for a few moments. You, John Pinkerton, say, that "the Greeks and Romans pronounce us not only barbarous but utterly savage." We answer—it is perfectly certain that the Greeks and Romans knew hardly any thing about us. Tacitus, the only early writer who had any authentic information, says, that our harbours were better known to merchants than those of Britain. You ask, "In the name of science, of argument, of common sense, where are the slightest marks of civilization among you?" We answer, in our ancient monarchy, which, you yourself acknowledge, has higher claims to antiquity than

any other in Europe. In our ancient institutions, our Brehon laws, our music, our poetry, and our monumental remains. "Where are the ruins of cities?" Ptolemy, a Greek geographer of the second century, marks nine cities of note in his map of Ireland, and considerable remains of some of these are yet to be seen. "Where inscriptions?" Many have been discovered, not including the impudent forgery on Callan Mountain. "Where ancient coins?" We acknowledge we have none. But you yourself tell us, that it was perhaps a thousand years before our era, that the Phœnicians traded to Britain and Ireland, (agreeing pretty nearly with the calculations of our native writers,) and you elsewhere say, that the Phœnicians did not coin money till six hundred years later. Do you expect our Phœnician ancestors should have had coins six hundred years before they had learned to make them? You also say, elsewhere, that "had the Phœnicians settled in any part of Britain and Ireland, their usual splendour would have attended them; a few Phœnician coins," you add, "may perhaps be found in Britain and Ireland, a circumstance naturally to be expected from their trading there, but had there been any settlements, there would have been ruins and numerous coins struck at the settlement, as at all those of Spain." To all this, it is only necessary to reply, that there are no remains of Phœnician cities now to be found in Spain, and that the Punic coins and inscriptions found there, are clearly of Carthaginian origin, and consequently cannot claim a very remote antiquity. Had the Irish asserted a descent from the Carthaginians, the want of such inscriptions and coins would have been conclusive against them; but as the learned Lord Ross (then Sir L. Porsons,) observes, no writer of note has ever said so, and we refer the reader to that distinguished nobleman's "Defence of the Ancient History of Ireland,"

for conclusive arguments on that point. Mr. Pinkerton finally shouts, "Where is the least trace of ancient art or science in your whole island?" We respond, they are exhibited abundantly in the numerous antiquities of gold, silver, and bronze, dug up every day in all parts of Ireland, and similar to the most ancient remains of the Greeks, Egyptians, and Phœnicians. Our gold crowns, collars, bracelets, anklets, our brazen swords, spears, and domestic vessels—our cinerary urns, our cairns with sepulchral chambers, which are not to be paralleled in the British isles—and lastly, in those Cyclopean works, agreeing identically with those in the islands, and on the shores of the Mediterranean, universally attributed to the Phœnicians—these are the evidences of the early colonization of Ireland, by a civilized people, which her antiquaries should rely on, and not the dreams of visionary etymologists, or the traditions preserved, and perhaps distorted by monkish chroniclers and ignorant bards. If a judicious selection of the antique monuments and other remains found in Ireland, were carefully drawn by some competent artist, and published, our claims to an early civilization would be instantly conceded by the unprejudiced and learned.

"But while we thus support the theories of Milesian writers, we are far from asserting that a knowledge of the fine arts was introduced into the country in those remote times. It would be folly to ground such a supposition upon idle conjecture; and there is little else on which to found it. Infant colonies do not often carry a knowledge of the fine arts along with them; they are only to be found where wealth, luxury, and peace have fixed their abode. The domestic arts, the traditions, the religion, the poetry, and the music of a people, will accompany them every where, because these are fixed in their minds, and transferred from generation to generation. The Irish

colonists, we are told, brought with them their priests, their artificers, their bards, and their musicians; but we hear nothing of their painters, their sculptors, or their architects. What remains of the fine arts have the Romans left in Britain? Their relics are only monuments of barbarism. Yet, unquestionably, they colonized that island at the period of their greatest refinement. What knowledge of the fine arts have the British colonies of America, at the present day? Besides, we are in great ignorance as to the length the Phœnicians had proceeded at this early time, in the cultivation of those arts. Idolatry, or image worship, which may be called the parent of sculpture, was as yet unknown to them, and the column and the arch were not introduced into architecture for ages after. The existing remains of ancient edifices in Europe, attributed to the Phœnicians, are remarkable only for a rude and simple grandeur. The only indications of taste in the arts of design, previous to the introduction of Christianity, discoverable in Ireland, are those which our antiquities exhibit. Our gold and silver ornaments, bronze weapons, and domestic vessels, are often elegant in design and workmanship; and some of our sepulchral urns, ornamented with mouldings in bas-reliefs, shew, at least, an acquaintance with the forms in use among a refined people. A few small bronze figures have been found in our bogs, and ignorantly called idols, but most of them are evidently Christian; and the one or two which are not so, figures of Victory on a globe, the ornament of a standard—look like imitations of Roman-British work, or were, perhaps, actual spoils of the Scots in Britain." We take leave, with regret, of this able and well-informed writer, as we must now avail ourselves of some extracts from Sir William Betham's "Inquiry into the Origin, Religion, Language, and Institutions of the

Irish, Scoti, Britons, and Gauls ;" which work was brought out in consequence of the question proposed by the Royal Irish Academy:—"Who were the Scoti, and at what period did they settle in Ireland?" He informs us, that "The examination of the language, laws, religion, customs, and institutions of the people of Gaul, who were declared by Cæsar, to have called themselves Celtæ, was the first object of my attention, and the result of that investigation has established, it is conceived, beyond the possibility of doubt or question, that the Irish, Britons, and Gauls, of Cæsar's day, all spoke the same language, had the same religion, laws, institutions, and customs, and were, in fact, but different branches of the same people. Thus far one branch of the question has been, I conceive, effectually answered—the Scoti, or Irish, were Celtæ.

"The other question still remained—'When did they settle in Ireland?' This could not be answered without first solving the problem of 'Who were the Celtæ?' It was not sufficient to rest *on the probability* of their settling in the British islands from Gaul, although that alternative has hitherto been the *dernier resort* of most English writers, who, rejecting altogether the Milesian story as fabulous, have had no other way of accounting for the peopling of these islands, than in frail wicker coracles, covered with skins, from the nearest coast of the continent.

"'Who and whence were the Celtæ?' involved investigation into the history of all the ancient people of Europe, but it was not long before that question was palpable between the Celts and the Phœnicians—their language, religion, and institutions not only appear to have been similar, but identical; they not only traded with, but colonized Spain, the British islands, and Celtic Gaul, expelling or extirpating the previous inhabitants, and

planting therein their own people. Thus is the second question answered, and the long sought problem solved.

"Another question arose out of this investigation, viz. were '*the Welsh the ancient Britons who combated against Cæsar, and after the fall of the Roman province of Britain into the hands of the Saxons, took refuge in Wales, and there maintained their independence, and handed down their language, laws, and institutions to their descendants?*'

"I have always considered the affirmative of this proposition true, and, although a slight acquaintance with the Welsh language, led to the conclusion that it varied essentially from the Gaelic, still it appeared but a variance, and I considered the two languages, in their origin, essentially the same. Finding, however, discrepancies and anomalies in the notion of the Welsh being the ancient Britons, which appeared irreconcileable, I determined, in the first instance, to examine, more particularly, the construction of the Welsh language, and was surprised to find that it differed totally from the Gaelic, and had not, in fact, the slightest affinity, unless it could be considered an affinity that a few words are to be found in each tongue, which have the same or similar meaning.

"Having thus ascertained that the Welsh and the Gael must have been a totally distinct and separate people, and, therefore, that the ancestors of the Welsh could not have been the Britons, who fought with Cæsar, as they were undoubtedly Gael, the question then arose—'*Who were the Welsh, and when did they become possessed of Wales?*'

"Thus did another difficulty present itself, of no small magnitude, which, however, was eventually surmounted. Lhuyd and Rowland, two of the most eminent *Welsh* writers, had unwillingly been coerced into the opinion, that a people, who spoke the Irish language, were the predecessors of the Welsh in Wales, and gave names to

most of the places in that country, and all parts of England; and that Welsh names of rivers and places were only to be found in the eastern and southern parts of Scotland: therefore, it appears clear, that the Picts, who inhabited that country, must have been the ancestors of the Welsh, and that they conquered Wales, Cornwall, and Britanny, on the fall of the Roman empire; and calling themselves Cymbri, they were a colony of the Cimbri, a people who once inhabited the neighbouring coasts of Jutland, the ancient Cimbric Chersonesus, the country opposite the land of the Picts.

"The origin and history of the Gael and Cymbri is thus placed on its true basis, and that is now in harmony, which hitherto, was confused, anomalous, and contradictory.

"It has been my object to adduce evidence, perfectly free from even the suspicion of Irish predilection or bias; it will be found that few Irish authorities have been quoted, except the Gaelic language itself. Even for the Irish history, the account given by Nennius and Giraldus Cambrensis, have been preferred to Irish MSS. or Keating's History, although it should be admitted, in candour and fairness to that learned writer, that his real history, in the original, is very superior to the spurious English translation, published by Dermot O'Connor. The Milesian story, however, will eventually be found grounded in truth; and, although but a faint and imperfect sketch, it is the true history of the first settlement of the Celtæ in Europe.

"The following pages are now laid before the critical and intelligent, with no small portion of anxiety; they appear to me to demonstrate, that ancient colonies of Phœnicians settled in Spain, Ireland, Britain, and Gael, long before the Christian era, and that they called themselves Gael, and Gaeltach, or Celtæ, and that the Irish, the Gael of Scotland, and the Manks, are now the only

descendants of that ancient people who speak their language.

"The Phœnician language has been, for two thousand years, unknown, that is, *with any certainty;* at all events, so imperfectly understood, that all attempts to explain even the shortest inscription, found upon coins, medals, or marbles, have been but vague and uncertain guesses. Spanheim, Bochart, and Gebelen, have endeavoured to render them intelligible through the Hebrew, but their attempts have been abortive, or very imperfectly successful; though kindred tongues, the affinity of the Hebrew with the Phœnician is too distant to be useful for such a purpose. The Phœnicians, although co-descendants of Shem, through Eber, with the Jews, had so much intercourse with other nations, that their language became very much mixed and changed, while the Hebrew remained stationary and pure.

"The discovery, that in the Irish, a people still exist *who* speak the language of the Phœnicians, is of the first historical importance, for by it Phœnician inscriptions may be decyphered, and the extent of their commerce and navigation, traced by the ancient names of places in the world, known to the ancients."—Conceiving it to have been indispensable that we should lay the foregoing before our readers, we now proceed with the fruits of our own researches, though far from attaching any undue importance to them as materials for history.

It would appear from Irish records, particularly from the Psalter of Cashel,—which we continue to respect—that the Tuatha de Danans having, as already stated, achieved the conquest of the island, they kept possession of it, but without extirpating or expelling the Firbolgs, or the descendants of the Fomorians, or other tribes, who had previously settled in Ireland, for one hundred and

ninety-seven years—that is, until the arrival of the Milesians.

It has been but too justly remarked that, the English historians who have written upon the affairs of Ireland, since the time of Henry II. of England,—such as Giraldus Cambrensis, Spencer, Stanihurst, Morrison, Campion, and others,—seemed to have imitated the beetle, which, when enlivened by the influence of the summer heats, flies abroad, and passes over the delightful fields, neglectful of the sweet blossoms or fragrant flowers that are in its way, till at last, directed by its sordid nature, it settles itself upon *filth*. They forget to mention the virtues and commendable actions of the Irish Princes, nobility and gentry; but in their accounts of Ireland, they dwell upon the manners of the lower and baser sort of people, relate fabulous and idle stories, invented on purpose to amuse the vulgar and ignorant.

It is indeed, to be regretted, that from prejudices, or probably from their having allowed their minds to be unduly influenced by mean national jealousies, other causes or motives, so little attention has always been paid by both English and Scottish historians, to what is recorded by the old Irish chroniclers and annalists; for much that is worthy of the notice, at least, of an antiquary, whose discrimination and capabilities of research, assimilate to those of Mr. Petrie, is to be found in their writings; but, as to what they declare to be *facts*, it would, in the present day, be as difficult to convince the world that they are so, as it would be unsafe for any one to come forward to question the correctness of the pedigrees of the old Irish families who claim descent from King Milesius of Spain; whose descent is traced from Noah, and consequently also from Adam. But he must refer any one, curious in such matters, to the genealogies of some of these families,

annexed to Dr. Keating's "General History of Ireland," which "contains what was collected by the learned Jeoffry Keating, D. D.; and was most faithfully translated from the original Irish language, with many curious amendments, taken from the Psalters of *Tara* and *Cashel*, and many other authentic records, by Dermo'd O'Connor, antiquary of the kingdom of Ireland," published in the year 1841. In which the reader will find, "a full and impartial account of the first inhabitants of the kingdom, with the Lives and Reigns of one hundred and seventy-four succeeding Monarchs of the Milesian race:—The original of the Gadelians, their travels into Spain, and from thence into Ireland:—A succinct account of the reigns of the kings of Ireland, with the several attempts and invasions upon that island:—Of the frequent assistance the Irish afforded the Scots against their enemies, the Romans and Britons, particularly their obliging the Britons to make a ditch from sea to sea, between England and Scotland, to guard themselves from the surprises, and frequent incursions of the Irish:—A genuine description of the courage and liberality of the ancient Irish: their severe laws to preserve their records and antiquities, and the punishments inflicted upon those antiquaries who presumed to vary from the truth; with an account of the laws and customs of the Irish, and their royal assemblies at Tara, &c.:—A relation of the long and bloody wars of the Irish against the Danes, whose yoke they at last threw off, and restored liberty to their country, which they preserved till the arrival of Henry II., king of England."

In order that we may the better understand, and appreciate Irish history, it is necessary to observe that, according to it, the Scythians were the descendants of Japhet, the son of Noah. Moses in settling the genealogy of the patriarchs, in the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis, mentions two

sons of Japhet, Gomer and Magog. Gomer, he says, had three sons, Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah; but the sacred penman gives no account of the sons of Magog; who, according to Irish history, that is, what is contained in "The Book of Invasions, &c.," was the great founder of the Scythian nation. It also informs us, that Magog had three sons, that their names were Baath, Jobhath, and Fathocta; and that from Baath descended Feniusa Farsa, king of Scythia, who was the ancestor of the Gadelians, of whom, as we proceed, we shall have to speak more fully.

It is asserted by an English chronicler, that "one Bartholinus was the commander of the Milesians, when they first came into Ireland." But he thus betrayed his total ignorance of Irish history; for Dr. Keating says, that "*Partholanus* is the name he means in this place; and it is evident by the Irish chronicles, that there was more than the distance of seven hundred years, between the coming of Partholanus and the landing of the Milesians in Ireland. Partholanus discovered the coast three hundred years after Noah's flood, and it was only 1080 years after the flood, when the sons of Milesius set foot upon the Irish shore: and as the great Camden justly observes, more regard is to be paid to the old records of the kingdom, than to the testimony of Hanmer, whose authority is far from being infallible. 'Detur sua antiquitate venia,' was the saying of that learned antiquary; whose opinion it was, that the antiquities of Ireland are much more valuable, and of more authority, than those of any other nation in the world. When he speaks of Ireland, in his Britannia, he has this expression: 'This island was not without reason called the ancient Ogygia by Plutarch;' and the reason he gives is: "for they begin their histories from the most profound memory of antiquity, so that the antiquity of all other nations, in respect of them, is mere

novelty.' From whence it may be reasonably concluded, that the public chronicles of Ireland arē of uncontested authority, and sufficient to overthrow the testimony of Hanmer, or any modern writer whatsoever."

Notwithstanding the testimony thus borne to the great antiquity of the Irish nation by Camden, and to the remote period from which they have always dated their histories, we find Sir John Temple, who was Master of the Rolls in Ireland in 1641, and who could not well have been ignorant of this; and had he not allowed his mind to be unduly prejudiced, could have evidently done them and their records justice, merely telling us in his history of the Irish Rebellion, that "the Irish want not many fabulous inventions to magnifie the very first beginnings of their nation. Whether the *Scythians, Gauls, Africans, Goths,* or some other more Eastern nation, that anciently inhabited *Spain,* came and sate down first in *Ireland,* I shall not much trouble myself here to enquire. If we should give credit to the *Irish* chronicles or their Bards (who deliver no certain truths), we might find stuff enough for an ancient pedigree, made up out of a most various strange composure of the *Irish* nation: but let them pass; there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and customs, such affinity of several of their words and names, and so great resemblance of many long used rites, and still retained ceremonies, as do give us some ground to believe that they do not improbably deduce their first original from some of those people. It may very well be conjectured (for infallible records I find none), that as the eastern parts of *Ireland,* bordering upon *England,* were first planted by the old Britons; Toole, (old Britain word for a Hill Country), Birne, (Brin, woods) and Cauvenagh (cauve, strong), the ancient Septs, and still inhabitants of that part of the country, being old British words. And

as the northern parts of *Ireland* were first inhabited by the *Scythians*, from whom it was called Scytenland, or Scotland. So the southern and more western parts thereof were peopled from the maritime parts of *Spain*, being the next continent, not by the now Spanish nation, who are strangely compounded of a different mixture of several people. But as I said, peradventure by the *Gauls*, who anciently inhabited all the sea-coasts of *Spain*, the *Syrians*, or some other of those more eastern nations, who intermixing with the natural inhabitants of that country, made a transmigration into *Ireland*, and so settled some colonies there." These are sorry admissions, but such as they are, we must, following Sir John Temple's example, let them pass, at least for the present.

According to the ancient Irish Chronicles, the renowned Gallamh, who was also called Milesius of Spain, after having evinced in many battles, fought in that country, not only great military genius, but also extraordinary courage, resolved to undertake a voyage to Scythia, to visit his relatives, who reigned there. He therefore fitted out thirty ships, and manned them with a select body of his Gadelian troops. "He steered his course through the Western sea till he came into the Mediterranean, and passing Scythia and Crete, he sailed northwards, through the Ægean into the Euxine Sea, and so entering the river Tanais he landed in Scythia."

Having announced his arrival, he and his followers were invited, in due form, to Court, and received by King Reffleoir with the kindness and hospitality to which so near a relation was entitled. He was soon after appointed generalissimo of the Scythians; and the hand of Seang, the king's daughter, was bestowed upon him in marriage, as a reward for his having subdued in battle all the enemies of the Scythian nation. But, unfortunately, becoming the

idol of the people, the fears, as well as jealousy of the Scythian king were, in consequence, so highly excited that, for his own safety, he resolved upon dispatching him. "Milesius being informed that this treacherous design had been formed against his life, he assembled his Gadelian chiefs, acquainted them of it, and decided at once to slay King Reffleoir, to take to their ships, and to proceed through the Euxine and Ægean seas; to enter the Mediterranean, and then to steer for the Nile."

This being accomplished, Milesius, accompanied by his two sons, Donn and Aireach Fiabhruadh,—whose mother Seang was then dead—having thus reached Egypt, he acquainted Pharaoh Nectonebus of his arrival in his dominions, who immediately invited him to his court; a tract of land was assigned for the support of the Gadelians, and Milesius himself was entertained in a manner suitable to his exalted rank and renown as a warrior; for, the Egyptians being then engaged in a desperate war with the Ethiopians, Milesius and his brave and experienced followers were most welcome visitors. Pharaoh having soon ascertained that he really was the accomplished, able general he was represented to be, very wisely gave him the command of the Egyptian forces, and left to his discretion the entire management of the war. His first step was to bring the Egyptian troops into a proper state of discipline; and having soon done so, he then marched against the Ethiopians, defeated them in several engagements, and forced them, at last, to submit to become tributaries to the crown of Egypt. As a reward for such distinguished services, Pharaoh bestowed upon Milesius the hand of his beautiful daughter, the princess Scota, who bore him two sons, Herberus Fionn and Aimbergin.

In some measure to account for the learning, which, at a very remote period, is said to have flourished to such an

extent among the Irish, we must not overlook the acquirements of the Tuatha de Danans, and we find, that Milesius, soon after his arrival in Egypt, had caused twelve of the most ingenious of the youths who had accompanied him, to be instructed in the arts and sciences, which then so greatly flourished in Egypt, with a view to their becoming afterwards the teachers of their own countrymen, in the various trades, as well as in the *mysteries* of the Egyptians." Having, however, resided seven years in Egypt, the remarkable prediction of Caicer, a learned and famous Druid Priest, was brought to his remembrance, "who had foretold that, the posterity of Gadelas should obtain the possession of a western island, which was Ireland, and there inhabit." Confiding in the truth of this prediction, he fitted out sixty ships, and furnished them with provisions necessary for a voyage; then taking an affectionate leave of the Egyptian monarch and his court, he once more embarked with his brave followers; and "leaving the Nile, he sailed to Thrace, where he landed, and it was there that the princess Scota was delivered of a son, whom he named Ir." Leaving Thrace, it is said, that "they traversed many countries until they came to an island called Gothiana, which lies in the narrow sea (now called the British Sea) that divides the Baltic from the ocean northwards." There they continued some time; and "in this isle, Milesius's wife, Scota, produced another son, whom he named Solpa." "From thence he sailed with his Gadelians till he arrived in the kingdom of the Picts, formerly called Albania, now Scotland." He there landed, plundered the sea coasts; and putting the booty on board his ships, "he sailed away, leaving Britain on his right hand, and having France west by south upon the left, he arrived upon the coasts of Biscany, in Spain, where he unladed his ships, and set all his people on shore."

"The certainty of his arrival was soon spread over all Biscany, and was carried with all possible speed over the whole kingdom. He found the Spaniards in the most deplorable circumstances, overrun by the Goths and other plundering foreigners, who took the opportunity of his absence to cruelly sack the whole country. Milesius, resolving to prevent the farther incursions of the barbarians, and deliver his subjects from the tyranny of these invaders, summoned the whole force of the Gadelians that continued in Spain, and forming them into regular troops, he joined them with those that followed him in his voyages; then offered battle to the Goths and their auxiliary foreigners, and put them to a general rout. He pursued his blow, and with the same good fortune, defeated them in fifty-four several battles, and quite drove them out of the kingdom. By this means Milesius and his relations, who were the family of Breogan, the son of Bratha, became masters of almost the whole kingdom of Spain."

We conceive that enough has been said of renowned Gallamh, or Milesius, whose pedigree is thus given in the old Irish chronicles:—"Milesius, son of Bille, son of Breogan, son of Bratha, son of Deaghatha, son of Earchada, son of Alloid, son of Nuagath, son of Nennaille, son of Feibhricglas, son of Heber Glunfionn, son of Lamhfionn, son of Adhnoin, son of Tait, son of Ogamhan, son of Heber Scot, son of Sree, son of Easree, son of Gadelas, son of Niul, son of Feniusa Farsa, son of Baath, son of Magog, son of Japhet, son of Noah, son of Lamech."

The Gadelians having, as stated in the old Irish chronicles, for various reasons, but chiefly on account of their being obliged to be constantly in arms to repel the invasions of the warlike Goths; and in consequence also of the faith which they still reposed in the prediction of the Druid Caicer—"that the descendants of Gadelas were to conquer

and inhabit a western island"—at last decided, in a great council held at Bragansa, or Brigantia in Galicia, that they should quit Spain; yet, before doing so, a prince named "Ith, the son of Breogan, was sent to make discoveries in this western island, or Ireland."

We cannot, however, think of occupying the reader's time in giving what must only be looked upon as a fabulous account of his adventures on that occasion; but, according to the Irish chronicles, he was treacherously attacked by the natives, under one of their princes, and after displaying much prudence and extraordinary valour, was slain by them at a place which afterwards bore his name. Ith's son, Luighaidh, who had accompanied him in this voyage of discovery, having brought back his father's body, he exposed it openly, and gave a full account of the perfidious way in which he had been killed, before an assembly of the descendants of Milesius—who had died during Luighaidh's absence from Spain—and the sons of Breogan. The tragical sight, and the treachery of the Irish princes, had such an effect upon this warlike race, that they at once and unanimously resolved to invade the island, to extirpate its inhabitants, and to establish themselves in it.

Scota, Milesius's widow, resolved to share the fortunes of her children in the expedition; for which every thing being prepared, the Milesians weighed anchor, impatient till they could reach the Irish coast, in order to avenge the death of the valiant Ith.

According to the Irish chronicles, annals, or rather traditions, the Milesians first attempted to land 1080 years after the flood, upon the northern coasts of Leinster; at a place then called Inbher Slaigne, but now Wexford; but the natives, the Tuatha de Danans, being alarmed at seeing such a number of ships, flocked to the shore, and by the

power of the enchantments and diabolical arts of their Druids, were enabled to cast so dense a cloud over the whole island, that the Milesians were confounded at beholding nothing but a fog-bank, resembling the back of an immense hog. Through this means, the Milesians were made to sail about the island in a state of great perplexity, and it was only with much difficulty, that they were at last able to land at a place in Munster, called Inbher Sceine. This account of the invasion of Ireland by the Milesians, as given in ancient traditions, &c. must, no doubt, were it not for some of Mr. Petrie's, and other discoveries, be looked upon as fabulous; and this will likewise be the case, as to what is told us of the tempest raised by the enchantments of the Tuatha de Danans Druids, in which so many of the Milesians perished on the coasts of Ireland, as well as of the brilliant achievements of the Milesian chiefs during the military operations which ensued, which terminated in the complete subjugation of the natives, and in the Milesians taking possession of the island. In the different bloody battles which were fought, at this time, *Scota*, Milesius's widow, as well as many *learned* and *warlike* Druids, are said to have been slain on both sides.

It ought here to be observed that, according to Dr. Keating's History, Ireland had been known by seven different names before the arrival of the Milesians, viz. Inis na Bhfiodbhuidhe, or Woody Isle—Crioch na Bhfuineadhach, or the neighbouring country, as it stood near to one of the three parts of the world that was then inhabited —Inisalga, or the Noble Island, which name it received from the Firbolgs—Eire, or Ireland, which name it received from Eire, a queen of the Tuatha de Danans—Fodhla, from another queen of the Tuatha de Danans—Bauda, from a third queen of the Tuatha de Danans—Inisfail;

from a stone that was brought by the Tuatha de Danans into the island, called Liafail, or the fatal stone, which we shall notice hereafter. The island's eighth name was Muic inis, or the Hog's Isle, which it received from the Milesians, on account of the appearance it presented when they first approached it from sea—its ninth appellation was *Scotia*, which name it received from *Scota*, the wife of Milesius, whose death in battle we have just alluded to—its tenth appellation was Hibernia; some say from a river in Spain called Iberus; but as others conjecture, from Heber, one of Milesius' sons—it receives its eleventh appellation of Ierna from Claudian—its twelfth, of Irene, from Diodorus Siculus—its thirteenth appellation is Fonn no fearon Ir, or Irlandia, which signifies in the Irish tongue, the land of Ir, the first of the sons of Milesius who was buried in the island. Plutarch gives it its fourteenth name of Ogygia, which signifies in Latin, *the most ancient isle;* a suitable name to Ireland.

A considerable period now intervenes, interspersed with occurrences, said to have taken place in Ireland, which would not, we conceive, interest the generality of readers; but, according to what Dr. Keating tells us has been recorded by the Irish annalists, it appears that, in the year of the world 3075, Aildergoidh, the son of Muinheamhoin, son of Cas Clothach, son of Firanda, son of Rotheachta, son of Rosa, son of Glas, son of Nuaghatt, son of Eochaidh Faobharglas, son of Conmaol, son of Heber Fionn, son of Milesius, King of Spain, succeeded to the throne of Ireland, and reigned seven years. He was the first prince who introduced the wearing of those massive gold rings into Ireland, which were afterwards bestowed upon persons of merit, who excelled in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, or were in any other manner particularly

accomplished. We also find that he was killed by Ollamh Fodhla, at the battle of Teamhair or Tara.

We must here observe, that some of the Irish chroniclers assert, there are twelve tribes of free gentlemen among the Irish—six of Leath Modha, and six of Leath Cuinn. This is not, however, generally believed; and Dr. Keating, in explaining the branches of the posterity of Milesius, tells us that, he does not intend to notice them, but only to speak of his three sons who left issue behind them, viz. Heber Fionn, Ir, and Heremon, and likewise the descendants of Ith, Milesius's uncle. He adds that, "there were six tribes who came into Ireland, whose genealogies ought not to be inquired after, though it must be confessed that some of them were Irish, but others were not. The first sort of them were the remnant of the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danans. The second are such as left their own country, and though descended from families of note, yet submitted to pay tribute to other powers. The third were those whose estates were conquered, and they themselves forced to live in a servile subjection to their enemies. The fourth were such gentlemen as lost their lives and forfeited their estates for capital offences. The fifth were such as descended from hired soldiers and auxiliaries, who left issue behind them in Ireland. The sixth were such as came into Ireland as drudges and slaves when the Milesians first settled in it. The posterity of these six tribes are, as it were, perfectly distinct in the country; nor is it to be wondered at, if it be considered that when Tuathal Teachtmar returned from his exile in Scotland, and obtained the sovereignty of the island, he extirpated these rascally people for murdering the Irish nobility." It is said, however, that he had to fight with them an hundred battles before he effected his object; and, "if any of them

escaped, they were esteemed of so base and ignominious an extract, that they were beneath the regard of the public antiquaries; so that if any of the posterity of these rascally clans pretend to give a successive account of their descents, they have no authority to support them but their own insolence, and therefore they are not to be regarded. What properly falls under consideration in this place are the principal branches of the noble and chief families of the Irish or Gadelian race: and for the sake of method, we shall begin with the posterity of Heber Fionn, because he was the eldest brother of the sons of Milesius, who left issue behind them in Ireland."

The translator of Dr. Keating's most elaborate "General History of Ireland" has, in his preface, very justly remarked that, what Dr. Keating has taken from the chronicles, &c. of Ireland, "is not offered to the world as an infallible record, perfectly free from errors and mistakes; for it is impossible that the true origin of any kingdom or people in the world can be discovered at this remote distance; and, it is certain, that the histories of all nations, the higher they are traced, the more they are encumbered with fictions, and often with relations utterly incredible. But does it follow, that the whole of these accounts is nothing but fable, because some matters are recorded which carry an air of falsehood? If this rule be admitted, no history or chronicle in the world, except the inspired writings, would escape; for human compositions, notwithstanding all imaginable care, can never claim a right to infallibility."

If it be objected, that the chronicles of Ireland are liable to suspicion, and may be justly questioned; Dr. Keating says, "let it be observed in reply, that no people in the world took more care to preserve the authority of their public records, and to deliver them uncorrupt to posterity

than the Irish. The chronicles of the kingdom were solemnly purged and examined every three years in the royal house of Tara, in the presence of the nobility and clergy, and in a full assembly of the most learned and eminent antiquaries of the country; to prove this, the undernamed books of the first note, that are to be seen at this day, are indisputable authorities:—The book of Ardmach; the Psalter of Cashel, written by the holy Cormac Mac Cuillenan, King of Munster, and Archbishop of Cashel; the book entitled Leabhar na huachhugabhala; the book called Leabhar-chluana hianach, Psalter na rann; Leabhar glindaloch, Leabhar nagceart, written by St. Beningus; Vighirchiarain, withen in Cluain mac naois; Leabhar buidhe, or the yellow book of Moling, and Fionntan a laoghis.

But, long anterior to these, tradition has it, that Ireland underwent even greater changes in its natural aspect, than in its occupants. These changes extended to the features as well as the characters, affecting the climate and surface, without any obvious natural causes. Most of Ireland's splendid Loughs, and some of her so strikingly shaped mountains, would seem, by these ancient traditions, to have suddenly appeared, and sprung up, at the command of *Omnipotence*. But we have in all parts of the world remarkable evidence, that within such limits as are consistent with the fulfilment of the covenant made with the Creator, of which the rainbow is the emblem, the face of the globe, in so far as it depends upon the distribution of moist and dry, heat and cold, nay, even hill and dale, and land and sea, has, as Ireland is said to have done, sustained extensive, and, in many instances, inexplicable change. But scepticism—says the Quarterly Review for October 1844—is as great a foe to profitable knowledge as credulity; if investigation is troublesome or disagreeable, or

goes against our received opinions, we then are very apt to take refuge in a flat denial, and thus to discharge ourselves from the responsibility of inquiry, and the still greater trouble of having our preconceived opinions disturbed.

To no portion of the "marvellous legends" related by our ancient chroniclers are such observations more applicable than to those relating to the aspect of the heavens. It is scarcely sixty years since, when tales of stones falling from the clouds, were ranked with the ghost story:—"A stone has fallen from the clouds at Luce, in Maine," is the intelligence received (1768) by the Academy of Sciences at Paris. Can any one believe such a fable? No, say the Academicians, it *must* not be believed. So they dispatch a committee—M. Lavoisier, M. Fougeroux, and M. Cadet—to dispel the delusion. The three *savans* proceed to the spot. There is the stone. What is the testimony of the witnesses? A loud noise has been heard in the air: they look up, and behold an opaque body descending in a curve, which falls on the soft turf, the *lisiere*, dividing the field in which they are at work reaping the harvest, from the road. They hasten to the spot, and find the stone half buried in the earth, but so hot that it could not be touched. Away they flee; but returning, when their panic was diminished, they find the mass where they had left it, and cool. Now, what was the verdict of the three *savans?* Why, simply, that in as much as the facts oppose theory, therefore theory must prevail over facts; and the Academy decrees that this stone, having been merely uncovered by the electric flash, had been pre-existent in the ground. Matters thus continued in the creed of science. No one was called to assent to the existence of an aërolite until the 13th of December, 1795, when the one meteoric stone which fell in Yorkshire, within

"three fields distance" of Major Topham's mansion, at once compelled belief. Now, the aërolite excites no more surprise than the hail-storm; and the meteoric iron deposited in the Museum demands nothing beyond the passing glance. Hundreds of other instances might be adduced; but we must proceed.

The particular titles and contents of many ancient Irish books are as follows: Leabhar gabhala, or the book of Conquests; Leabhar na geoigeadh, the book of provincialists; Ream riorgradh, the roll of kings; the book of ages, the book called Leabhar comhsiorgachta, or an account of the people who lived in the same age; the book of antiquity; the book called Coranmach, or of etymologies; the book called Uracept, that was written by the learned Cionn Fola; the book called the visions of Columba, written by Dallan Forguill, soon after the death of that Saint; an account why the woods, the hills, the rivers, and lakes in the kingdom, were distinguished by the names they bear; the pedigrees of women, and many others.

But, it has been justly remarked in the Quarterly Review, No. 152, that "to an ignorance of the past history of Ireland must be attributed much of that indifference, amounting even to false shame, with which Irishmen in English society sometimes venture to depreciate, and even disown their country. While to a remembrance of the same history, however vague and obscure, and overlaid with legends and superstitions, we may trace many of those high and even holy instincts which redeem the other faults of the Irish peasantry. And to the same ignorance may be attributed much of that weariness and hopelessness (stronger words need not be used) with which the prospects of Ireland are too often regarded even by educated Englishmen."

Having thought it necessary to introduce the above

remarks, and though we are aware that Diodorus Siculus mentions it as a thing well known in his time, that the inhabitants of Ireland were originally Britons; and that some writers have since, too readily adopted the same opinion, and have even laughed at what they considered the idle fables of their Gallician and Milesian origin, yet we must still continue to cull, what we deem necessary for our purpose, from the writings of the old Irish chroniclers and annalists, and from those of commentators upon them. Ollamha Fodhla, before mentioned, a descendant, but by another line, from Milesius—was Aildergoidh's successor in the throne; and his reign continued thirty years." This prince was possessed of many excellent qualities, which gave occasion to his name; for Ollamh signifies a person that excels in wisdom and learning, and Fodhla was the name of the island; and the character, by which this monarch is distinguished in the Irish chronicles, justly merited that denomination; for he was certainly a prince of the most comprehensive knowledge, and of the strictest virtue, that ever sat upon the Irish throne. He instituted the most useful laws for the government and advantage of his people; and was so indefatigable in his studies, that he undertook to transmit to posterity, in a very correct history, the several travels, voyages, adventures, wars, and other memorable transactions of all his royal ancestors, from Feniusa Farsa, king of Scythia, to his own times; and in order to purge and digest the records of the kingdom, he summoned his principal nobility, his Druids, the poets, and historiographers, to meet him in a full assembly at Tara, once in every three years, to revise the body of the established laws, and to change or correct them as the exigence of affairs required. This illustrious assembly was called by the name of Feis Feamhrach, which signifies a general meeting of the nobility, gentry, priests, historians,

and men of learning, distinguished by their abilities in all arts or professions: they met by a royal summons, in a parliamentary manner, once every three years, at the palace of Tara, to debate upon the most important concerns of the state; where they enacted new laws, and repealed such as were useless and burdensome to the subject, and consulted nothing but the public benefit in all their resolutions. In this assembly, the ancient records and chronicles of the island were perused and examined, and if any falsehoods were detected, they were instantly erased, that posterity might not be imposed upon by false history; and the author, who had the insolence to abuse the world by his relation, either by perverting matters of fact, and representing them in improper colours, or by fancies and inventions of his own, was solemnly degraded from the honour of sitting in that assembly, and was dismissed with a mark of infamy upon him; his works likewise were destroyed, as unworthy of credit, and were not to be admitted into the archives, or received among the records of the kingdom. Nor was this expulsion, the whole of his punishment, for he was liable to a fine, or imprisonment, or whatever sentence the justice of the parliament thought proper to inflict. By these methods, either out of fear of scandal or disgrace, or of losing their estates, their pensions and endowments, and of suffering some corporeal correction, the historians of those ages were induced to be very exact in their relations, and to transmit nothing to after times but what had passed this solemn test and examination, and was recommended by the sanction and authority of this learned assembly. In this solemn manner did the Milesians, a learned and generous people, preserve from the most early times the monuments of every memorable transaction that deserved to be transmitted to the world; and in the interval between every session of this triennial

parliament, not only the professed antiquaries, but the gentry, and persons of abilities in all professions and capacities, did, with all diligence and fidelity, collect what was worthy to be observed in their several districts and provinces, and laid their remarks before the next assembly, to be examined; and, if they were approved, to be transcribed in the royal records for the benefit and information of their descendents. "If the same care," says Dr. Keating, "had been taken by other nations, we should not see so many fabulous histories abroad, that are founded upon no authority, but supported only by the effrontery of the relaters; but this method, it seems, was peculiar to the ancient Irish, whose policy and civil government have been the wonder, and ought to have been the example and standard of after ages."

It is necessary here to observe that, in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Mr. Petrie, in his essay on the celebrated Hill of Tara exhibits, on the authority of old manuscripts, a topographical account of that locality as it stood in the twelfth century, with all its features, its raths or circular forts, and the foundations of its ancient regal halls. But the artificial remains of Tara are not the only points indicated in the manuscript. Tara was deserted in the seventh century; and the manuscripts of the twelfth century describes it as it then stood, and that description was found to tally exactly with its condition now—with the number, position, and character of its earthen mounds and walls. But a still stronger attestation to the historical accuracy of these documents still remained. On the Hill of Tara are three springs—one of them is known, both in the manuscripts and in the traditions of the neighbourhood, as the spot on which the first mill in Ireland was erected: another indicated in the manuscripts, had not been discovered by the party who were prosecuting the

Ordnance survey on the spot. Mr. Petrie recurred to the manuscripts, traced out exactly the point where this spring might be expected to lie, walked across the hill in that direction, and came down immediately upon a very copious well, which had escaped all former observation.

The historian will be enabled from the above specimens to have some notion of the pains which seem to have been taken by the old Irish chroniclers and annalists to be accurate, not only in their descriptions of places, but also in their accounts of events, and will consequently know how to appreciate their now, at last, becoming deeply interesting writings.

We again find that, according to the old records—and the reader must form his own estimate of them—"The Israelites, being oppressed by the tyranny and persecution of the Egyptians, resolved, under the conduct of Moses, to free themselves from that cruel bondage; and accordingly the twelve tribes assembled together, under the command of that great officer, who designed to deliver them from slavery, and lead them out of that barbarous country. In this expedition, every tribe had a banner, and a certain device, or a coat of arms, distinctly emblazoned upon it. In their march they came to Capacirunt, where Niul, the father of Gadelas, resided with his people, near the borders of the Red Sea, through which, by an Almighty power, a way was wonderfully opened, and the whole nation of the Hebrews passed through. In process of time it happened, that Iru, a great-grandson of Niul, was banished out of Egypt by the prince who then reigned, with his whole family and descendants; and as he conducted his people out of the country, he followed the example of the Israelites; and, in imitation, had a banner, with a dead serpent and the rod of Moses painted upon it for a coat of arms; and he

made a choice of this device, for this reason particularly, because Gadelas, who was his grandfather, was bit by a serpent, and the wound was cured by Moses, who laid his wonder-working rod upon it, and saved his life. From this example the posterity of Iru always made use of banners and coats of arms, as an honourable distinction of their families; and this account is confirmed by the annals of Leath Cuin, which is supported by the additional testimony of the book called Leabhar Leatha Cuin, is this manner:—

"The author treating upon this subject, gives this account of the coats of arms of the twelve tribes:—the tribe of Reuben had a mandrake painted upon their banners; Simeon, a spear; Levi, the ark; Judah, a lion; Issachar, an ass; Zebulun, a ship; Naphtali, a deer; Gad, a lioness; Joseph, a bull; Benjamin, a wolf; Dan, a serpent; and Asher, a branch of a vine."

Dr. Keating, to whom we are indebted for the above, observes that, "our Irish annals are very particular in accounting for the arms and devices borne by several eminent persons, and the most flourishing nations. They inform us, what were those of Hector the Trojan hero; of Osiris, Hercules, Achilles, Alexander the Great, Ulysses, Pereus, Augustus Cæsar, &c. &c.; and also that "the Scythians, who remained in the country, and made no conquests abroad, as the Gadelians did, bore a thunder-bolt; the Egyptians, bore an ox; the Phrygians, a swine; the Thracians, painted the god Mars upon their banners; the Romans, an eagle; and the Persians, bows and arrows:" these annals add, that "Simeon, the High Priest of the Jews, dressed himself in his pontifical robes, which were very splendid, and set off with various ornaments and representations, when he went out of Jerusalem to meet the victorious Alexander, who had resolved to level the city

with the ground; and, by the curiosity and solemnity of his habit, he overawed that invincible conqueror, and suppressed his designs." But the worthy Doctor, with just indignation, adds:—"Now to shew the insufferable partiality of the English writers, I am obliged to take notice, that these under-workmen in history, never take upon them to deny the use of banners with coats of arms, among the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, and other nations; but the Gadelians and the old Irish it seems, have no claim to this honorary privilege. Every account that is given of this ancient and worthy people, they esteem fabulous; and they would, if their arguments and integrity were equal to their malice, erase the very name of a Gadelian out of all records, and destroy the memory of them from among men. But notwithstanding the feeble efforts of these little authors, we have the testimony of the best historians, to prove that the Gadelians were a family as illustrious, and made as early a figure in the chronicles of the world, as any tribe in the universe; and as an unquestionable evidence upon this subject, they preserved their own monuments and records with the strictest care, and faithfully delivered them to posterity; and therefore, prejudice and ignorance are the only inducements that could prevail upon the English writers, who pretend to treat of Irish affairs, to deduce their accounts of Ireland from no higher a period than the reign of William the Conqueror; and because the histories of their own country cannot be traced, with any tolerable authority, farther than the time of that prince, therefore it must needs follow, that the Irish annals are of the same modern date, and every chronicle beyond that point of time must be a fable and romance. How conclusive this argument is, any unprejudiced person will easily determine. However, this is certain, that the old chronicles

of England were destroyed by the victorious Romans, Goths, Saxons, Germans, Normans, and other foreigners who made a conquest of the kingdom; but the Irish records were kept sacred, and were never in the hands of any invading enemy, nor was the island ever absolutely subdued, so as to be under a foreign yoke, from the first arrival of the Milesians unto this day."

"It is, therefore, certain that the Milesians, from the time they first conquered the island, down to the reign of of Ollamh Fodhla, made use of no other arms of distinction in their banners, than a dead *serpent and the rod of Moses*, after the example of their Gadelian ancestors."

It is necessary here to observe that the worship of Satan, in the form in which he appeared to Eve in the garden of Eden—that is to say, of a serpent, must have been, at least, part of that of the ancient Egyptians, of the Milesians, (twelve Gadelian youths, were, as we have seen, by desire of Milesius, instructed in the religious mysteries practised in Egypt) and, what is more surprising, it would appear by the Irish Chronicles, &c. to have been that likewise of the Tuatha de Danans—who, it also appears, spoke the same language as the Milesians—indeed, sure signs of this having been the case, may be traced in the religious rites practised by the priests of Baal, as well as by those magicians or sorcerers who afterwards, under the name of Druids, exercised so powerful and durable an influence over the minds of such a vast proportion of mankind; and to prove that the power of working miracles, or shewing signs, ascribed to these ancient priesthoods, is not altogether fabulous, we must make a few extracts—though it is unfashionable in works of this kind to quote Scripture—from the book of Moses, called Exodus:—"And the Lord said unto Moses, see, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh; and Aaron thy brother shall

be thy prophet . . . . . and the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron, saying, When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, shew a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it before Pharaoh, and it shall become a serpent. And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so as the Lord had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a *serpent*. Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments: for they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." Again—"Thus saith the Lord, In this thou shalt know that *I am* the Lord: behold, I will smite with the rod that *is* in thy hand upon the waters which *are* in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that *is* in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall loath to drink of the water of the river . . . . . and Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded; and he lift up the rod, and smote the waters that *were* in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that *were* in the rivers were turned to blood. And the fish that was in the river died; and the river stunk, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river: and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments:"—again—"And the Lord spake unto Moses, say unto Aaron, stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the streams, over the rivers, and over the ponds, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt. And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments, and brought

up frogs upon the land of Egypt." Again—"And the Lord said unto Moses, say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt. And he did so: for Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians did so with their enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: so there were lice upon man and upon beast. Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God:" Again—"And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, Take to you handfulls of the ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it towards the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt. And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up towards heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and beast. And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians."

We hear no more of the magicians or sorcerers being commanded by Pharaoh to compete with Moses and Aaron in exhibiting those extraordinary powers of working miracles, which they seem really to have possessed, and which the Almighty permits Satan, and his fallen associates, occasionally to exercise, as in the above instances, and in that of the severely tried Job. This may seem to some to have been an unnecessary digression, but, as we proceed, it will be found not to have been so.

We are, however, convinced that Irish annals, &c. such as those of which we have just given a few specimens, merit much more consideration than has usually been bestowed upon them; but, at the period of Irish history

to which these extracts allude, and for many years after, Druidism, to which our attention has been particularly attracted, extended its influence over the minds of a considerable portion of the human race; but nowhere had its priests assumed that supreme authority, which they exercised over all men, among whom they had once obtained a footing, in more absolute sway, than in Ireland, Scotland, and in the Western Isles. But the Romans having overturned their altars, and cut down their groves, they compelled numbers of them to retire from their ancient and favourite station at Abury, and from their uncovered temple at Stone Henge, on Salisbury Plain, (and probably also from what are called the Arrows, near Boroughbridge) to the Isle of Anglesea; and soon after also from thence to seek shelter among those Druids, so long settled in Ireland, Scotland, the Western Isles, and particularly in the Isle of Man.

In proof of this, and to shew that the Druids were numerously followed in their retreat into Ireland, Camden in his Britannia tells us, that "when the Romans had extended their empire on all sides, many, no doubt, out of Spain, France, and Britain removed into Ireland, in order to avoid the most unjust yoke of the Romans." From this it appears, not only that the Romans never extended their conquests into Ireland, but that the unfortunate people of the neighbouring countries found refuge from the oppressions of the Romans, among the then *invincible Irish*—indeed, Camden adds—"It will be the utmost difficulty to make me believe, that the country of Ireland was at any time under the dominion of the Romans."

In the Isle of Man, the Archdruid, according to tradition, established himself, and from thence issued those imperious mandates, which were so promptly obeyed by the whole of that extraordinary fraternity.

Julius Cæsar tells us, that there were only two degrees of men in Gaul, who took any part in the administration of public affairs, the Druids, or Clergy, and the Nobility, or, as the French seem more correctly to translate the word—*Chevaliers*. To the Druids belonged the care of divine things. They presided at all public as well as private sacrifices, and were the sole interpreters of religious rites. Great numbers of youth came from all parts to be instructed by them; and they were held in the highest veneration by their countrymen, who submitted all differences to their arbitration. Whatever might be the nature of a crime committed—if a person was killed—if disputes arose as to titles to land, the boundaries of provinces, &c. the Druids were the judges. They decided all controversies—their sentences were final—they pronounced what punishments were to be inflicted; and they also declared what ought to be the rewards of those who, for good conduct, merited them. Whoever refused to abide by their decree, whether lord or vassal, was instantly excommunicated; which was the severest penalty that could be inflicted upon mankind; for those who were condemned or censured by them, were accounted wicked or worthless, and all men shunned them as they would a contagious disease; they were no longer protected by the laws; they had no respect paid to them, nor were they suffered to fill any office in the state.

The Druids had a chief or superintendent, to whom they were subject. Upon his death, the most worthy or learned person amongst them became his successor; but, if there happened to be several candidates for the high office of Archdruid, the election was decided by the majority of votes, and not unfrequently by the sword. Once a year they had a general assembly, on the confines of Chartres, at a consecrated station appropriated for the

purpose, which was in the centre of Gaul, and to which all those resorted who had causes to be heard and decided. Cæsar supposed that this extraordinary system of religion had its origin in Britain, and was transferred from thence into Gaul; but, if we are to credit Irish history, it is more likely to have been transferred from Ireland into the neighbouring countries, having, in all probability, been brought from the East by the Tuatha de Danans and Milesians; at least, Cæsar adds—those who, at the period he wrote, were desirous of becoming proficients in Druidism, had to cross the sea into Britain to be educated there.

The Druids seldom went into the field, for they were exempt from serving as soldiers; they paid no taxes, and enjoyed all kinds of privileges. The encouragement they met with was so great, that many persons embraced their profession, and others were sent to their colleges by their parents, where they were taught a vast number of verses by rote, in acquiring which many were occupied fully twenty years. Though by no means unacquainted with letters, they never committed these verses to writing —for other purposes they used the Greek characters. Cæsar supposed that their object in this was to be able to keep learning from the vulgar, as well as to improve by exercising the memory of their scholars. The principal tenet of their theology was, that the soul never died, but transmigrated, after the decease of the body, to another; which doctrine was of vast importance, as it inspired them with a contempt for death. They had many traditions, in which they instructed the youth intrusted to their care, respecting the stars and their motions, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods.

The Gauls were much addicted to superstition; therefore, such as were taken dangerously ill, or were frequently

exposed to danger in battle, either devoted themselves to the altar, or offered up human sacrifices; because they imagined that the gods could never be appeased but by the death of one man for another: wherefore they had public offerings of this kind, which were made under the direction of the Druids, who, for the purpose, prepared hollow images, bound round with osiers, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to the images, suffocated and burnt them to ashes. This will account for cinerary urns and burnt bones being always found in Druid circles. They believed that thieves, highwaymen, and such criminals were the most acceptable offerings to the gods, but when they could not be had, the innocent were forced to supply their places. Mercury, according to Cæsar, was their tutelar god; in honour of whom they had erected many images. They considered him to have been the inventor of the arts; and him they invoked for protection in all their journeys or undertakings, believing him to have a particular influence over all mercantile transactions or modes of acquiring riches. Next in estimation to Mercury was Apollo; then Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, of whom they had the same ideas as were entertained by other heathen nations. They imagined that Apollo could cure their diseases; that Minerva taught mankind useful works and manufactures; that Jupiter was the supreme deity; and that Mars presided over warlike operations; wherefore, before they went into battle, they devoted a great proportion of the spoil to that deity; and when they obtained a victory, they offered all the cattle captured upon his altars; the remainder of the spoil they collected into places allotted for the purpose; and in many parts of Gaul were to be seen monuments erected for offerings, and the reception of articles taken from their enemies. Upon religious principle they rarely neglected to perform their

vows; and they never concealed, nor attempted to carry away, the booty they had acquired, as the severest penalties were attached by the Druids to crimes of this nature. It is believed in France, and in other countries, where are to be found several learned dissertations upon Druidism, that its religious dogmas were the same as those of the early Egyptians, and which were afterwards, in part, adopted by the Greeks and Romans. The names of Mercury, Apollo, &c. mentioned by Cæsar, are not Celtic; but the Romans, caring little for religious controversies, considered it often prudent to admit the gods of the people they conquered into the catalogue of their deities; and they thus the more easily induced them to believe in theirs.

From the above, and from other sources, we learn that, on occasions of ceremony, the Archdruid's head was surrounded by an oaken garland, surmounted by a tiara composed of *Adderstones*, enchased in gold. When at the altar, he wore a white surplice, fastened on the shoulder by a golden brooch. There were, as we find from the best accounts handed down to us, several orders or degrees of the priesthood. To attain the highest of which required at least twenty years of hard study. Each order was distinguished by their wearing a particular dress; some of them reaching the calf of the leg, and others somewhat lower. The bards wore a coloured robe of sky blue, as emblematical of peace. The professors of astronomy and medicine wore green, as symbolical of learning, and as being the colour of the clothing of nature. The disciples of the order wore variegated dresses of the three colours, blue, green, and red. The dress of the sacerdotal order was white, the emblem of holiness and truth. The Druids had their hair cut short, whilst the people wore theirs long. The former had long beards, while the latter preserved the hair on the upper lip only. The Archdruid could, however,

always be distinguished from the others; as, besides being decked in a six coloured robe, he carried a golden instrument, something like a bill-hook, which was used in tearing down the mistletoe from the oak; and he is also usually represented holding a *magical staff* in his hand.

The mistletoe plant, which grows upon the oak, was held by the Druids in the greatest veneration. They believed that every thing connected with the oak came from heaven; therefore the mistletoe, having no root but on that tree, was held peculiarly sacred. At its gathering a most solemn festival was observed. On their new-year's day, which was held on the 10th of March, the Archdruid, accompanied by all the inferiors, assembled under the oak on which it grew, and having prepared their apparatus for the sacrifice, they tied two white bulls by the horns to the branches; one of the priests then ascended the tree, and with the golden instrument above mentioned, and the utmost reverence, separated it from the oak. The sacrifices were then offered up, and the festival concluded with a sumptuous feast.

So highly were the Druids distinguished for their knowledge of astronomy, astrology, and natural philosophy, that even the sons of kings were sent to them to be educated. It is well known, and we have seen that Cæsar alludes to the circumstance, that with the view of keeping knowledge and learning to themselves, they admitted of no written records; and this is, in all probability, one of the reasons why we have so little respecting them handed down to us by the old authors. About the year of our Lord 76, Dothan, mentioned as the eleventh king of Scotland (what Scotland?), is said to have left his three sons in the Isle of Man, to be educated by the Druids; as was also Corbed Gald, son of Corbed the first king of Scotland, about the year 81. But notwithstanding the pretensions of the Druids to all kinds of

knowledge, no species of superstition was ever more terrible, and no idolatrous worship ever gained a greater ascendency over the minds of mankind than Druidism. Of all the Druidical temples to be now met with the most surprising is that of *Stone Henge*. It consists of huge stones, seventeen of which are still standing; which, with seven others lying on the ground, form the outward circular, or rather oval range. The inner circle is about eight feet from the outer one, and has eleven stones standing and eight fallen; between these circles, is a walk of about 300 feet in circumference; the appearance of the whole from which is singularly awful and imposing: the stones are from eighteen to twenty feet high, from six to seven broad, and about three feet thick. Round it are numerous barrows, covered with earth, raised chiefly in the form of a bell. Many of those which have been opened contained, like those in Ireland and the Isle of Man, human skeletons, urns, and military weapons. From Stone Henge an avenue about half a mile long, between two ditches, leads to what is now called the cursus, which is two miles in length, and enclosed by two ditches 350 feet asunder, having an embankment or long barrow at each end. The date of the erection of Stone Henge is said—but upon what authority we know not—to have been 460 years before Christ.

The usual dwelling place of the contemplative Druid—they all led a life of the greatest austerity and self denial—when his oak could not shelter him from the storm, was a cave in a rock, or a litttle stone building capable of holding himself only; yet, some of larger dimensions are still to be seen in the Isle of Skye, one of the Western Isles, and in Ireland; where they are called by the natives Tinan Druninich, or Druid houses. Many of these became, at a subsequent period, the abodes or cells of Christian anchorites. In the island of Lewis, one of the Hebrides, there

stands a huge stone, called the Thorshel, above twenty feet high, and as many broad. On the north side of Loch Carlvay there are similar stones twelve feet high; and there are many such throughout the island; but the most remarkable piece of antiquity of the kind is a group of pyramidal stones, near the village of Classerness, thirty-nine in number, from six to seven feet in height, which are all supposed to have been the erections of the Druids.

In the Isle of Man their sacred groves and consecrated fountains, &c. are still indicated by their Manx, or rather Irish names, such as Cronk-ny-Marroo, the hill of the dead; Glen-darragh, the glen of the oaks; Thallow-ni-charne, the place of the stones; and Kion-druaight, in the parish of Michael, which, in the Manx tongue, signifies *chief Druid;* probably still retaining that name from having been the abode of the chief or Archdruid: there is another Kion-druaight in the parish of Andreas, about seven miles distant.

But besides these, there are to be seen in the Isle of Man, numbers of those heaps of small stones called in it, as in Ireland, *cairns*, and to which are attached traditions very like the following, which we give much abridged:— on the heath-clad hills in the southern extremity of the county of Down, there are two heaps of stones thrown together in circular pyramidal forms. The larger is in diameter about fifteen yards, and the smaller about eight. The latter is five yards from the former. A few years ago the larger was examined by a gentleman well read in antiquarian lore; and though it contained the kind of grave or tomb that is generally inside such heaps, yet he could find no remains of bones, ashes, &c., and that there were no such remains, led many to believe the tradition of the country to be correct; which has it, that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood had assembled on the hill to make an

incursion into the county of Louth—that each man, to commemorate the event, on his going off cast a stone, and thus formed the larger cairn; that they then marched to Warren point, and crossing the bay in small wicker frames covered with hides, they drove the terrified inhabitants before them, and took from them every thing valuable. But the inhabitants having armed themselves, pursued the plunderers to the shore, where they overtook them loaded with the spoil, and after a sharp conflict totally routed them. The few who remained returned home, bringing with them the body of their leader, who had fallen in the encounter, and buried it on the hill whereon they had assembled for the foray, each man, casting another stone, formed the second heap; and their being so much diminished in numbers accounts for its being so very much smaller than the other. We omit the legend connected with St. Patrick; but this cairn was a few years ago also opened, and in it was found a beautiful urn, now said to be in the possession of the Marquis of Downshire. It contained some calcined bones, and a small vessel having some earthy matter in it, supposed to be the ashes of the heart. This small vessel, soon after its exposure to the air, went to pieces. But to proceed.

The Druid circles or temples are usually composed of large stones placed erect, at equal distances from each other, so as to form a circle, generally between twenty and thirty feet in diameter, with occasionally a flat stone in the centre. All over the Isle of Man, these circles are to be met with, many of the stones of which they are composed, are of considerable size, but are now almost all overgrown with mosses, &c. except where masses of smooth white granite, to which they seldom adhere, have been used, and which so distinctly continue to mark the circular form of the temple on the often bright green sward. Of

these temples, the most perfect we know of, is that of Glen-darragh. It is situated on the northern extremity of a hill near, what is now called, Mount Murray. The stones which form the circle are placed perpendicularly, at regular distances, and form a circle of about forty feet in diameter. A stream of water runs on each side of the temple, issuing from two fountains farther up the hill, which tradition says, were held sacred by the Druids. To the east of the enclosure are two mounds, constructed of stones and earth, extending, as it were, half way round the temple, and about sixteen feet asunder. The name of this glen indicates, as before remarked, that the oak once flourished in it: indeed, there is scarcely a bog on mountain, in valley, or in plain, that does not clearly shew that this was the case of old in most parts of the island. This comparatively miniature Temple of Glen-darragh, if carefully examined, would convince any one, curious in such matters, that Stone Henge, respecting the origin of which there has been much controversy, could not possibly have been anything else but an uncovered Druidical temple.

How far these Druidical temples could have had any connexion with those found among the Saxons in the fifth century, we cannot pretend to say. These Saxons were, beyond dispute, one of the most extraordinary races of men, who have figured, at any period on earth, but of whose origin we know little or nothing. May we, however, conjecture that, in the centre of Stone Henge, or perhaps, in the centre of the temple of Glen-darrgh, there may have stood an idol or idols, similar to those of Irminsula, destroyed by the famous Charlemagne, in one of his invasions of the country then occupied by these warlike and maritime Saxons; for the following description of which we are indebted to Mr. Sharon Turner. "The

temple was spacious, elaborate, and magnificent. The principal image in that of Irminsula was raised upon a marble column. Its right hand held a banner, in which a red rose was conspicuous; its left presented a balance. The crest of its helmet was a cock. On its breast was engraven a bear; and the shield depending from its shoulders exhibited a lion in a field of flowers. The expressions of Adam of Bremen seem to intimate that it was of wood, and that the place where it stood had *no roof.*"

About two miles from Kion-druaight in Michael, the supposed Archdruid's residence, and high up on the side of the mountain, and just above Cronkould, in the adjoining parish, Ballaugh, and facing a considerable extent of the coast of Scotland, and part of that of Ireland, is a circular mound, chiefly of earth, of about one hundred and fifty yards in circumference, having recesses, at equal distances, all round and inside of it; in which only one person could sit or recline. This could never have been, as some imagine, a place of strength or fort; for, in its whole extent, it is completely commanded by the more elevated and adjoining side of the mountain. The light in the light-house on the Mull of Galloway, can almost every night be distinctly seen from this circle, and consequently, as we may imagine, when any great fire was lit—as was always the case when important Druidical rites were performing at night—in or above it, it must have been visible to the Druids and inhabitants of the opposite coasts, who might thus have been enabled to join, or take part in, the imposing ceremonies of their religious worship, then going on under the superintendence of the Arch-druid himself, upon this conspicuous station. We are told that it was a principle of the Druids, that no covered temple should be erected for their ceremonies or public

worship, for both the heavenly bodies and fire being with them objects of adoration, to have shut out the former, or concealed the latter, during their religious services, would have been inconsistent. There is another Druidical temple, indicated, as usual, by large erect stones, almost equally conspicuously placed as that above Cronkould, near the northern base of Mount Kerrin, upon which a fire burning brightly, could also almost every night have been seen distinctly on the opposite coasts of Scotland, and part of the north of England. This circle, which is only of the usual size, stands about two miles to the eastward of Cronkould.

It is necessary here to mention that Colonel Blacker, in a letter to Dr. Knox, late Bishop of Derry, has made known to the antiquarian world, one of the most interesting remains of the olden time, perhaps, to be found in Ireland, or any other country. Colonel Blacker supposes it to have been a temple of the sun. In this opinion we coincide so far, concluding that the sun will be admitted to have been a principal object of the worship of the Druids. This temple, is called Greenan, or, Colonel Blacker informs us, more correctly, Grian-an, signifying literally, "the place of the sun," or "appertaining to the sun." We must here remark, that at a short distance from Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man, there is a mountain—though we do not believe there is now to be found upon it any remains of a Druidical temple—which in the Manx language, which so nearly assimilates to that of the Irish, still bears almost a similar name.

To the casual observer, the first appearance of this structure is that of a truncated *cairn* of extraordinary dimensions; but on a closer inspection, particularly since the clearing away by Colonel Blacker, of fallen stones, &c. it will be found a building, constructed with every attention

to masonic regularity, both in design and workmanship. A circular wall, of considerable thickness, encloses an area of 82 feet in diameter. Judging from the number of stones which have fallen on every side, so as to form a sloping face of ten or twelve feet broad all round it; this wall must have been of some height—probably from ten to twelve feet—but its thickness varies. To discover the entrance was one of Colonel Blacker's first objects, and having directed a clearance to be made eastward, a passage was found four feet in breadth, flagged at the bottom with flat stones: this passage was covered with flags of very large dimensions, which were found to have fallen in . . . . Within the wall, to the right and left of the entrance, are carried two curious passages, about two feet wide by four feet in height, neatly covered at top with flags in the same manner as the entrance. These passages extend through half the circumference of the structure, terminating at the northern and southern points: that running southward was found to communicate with the area, by an aperture extremely disproportioned to the passage itself, being merely wide enough to permit the entrance of a boy. The approach to the gallery or passage, winding northward, appears to have been from above, there being no signs of an entrance communicating with the area. But on clearing away the fallen stones, to the northward of the main entrance within the building, Colonel Blacker discovered a staircase eighteen inches wide, leading from the level of the area to the top of the wall. This passage extends to the northern point, but different from the other, it carries its breadth the entire way. In the centre of the area are the remains of the altar, approached from the entrance by a flagged pathway, which was discovered by raising the turf by which it is overgrown: around these are the ruins of a square building, but of comparatively modern con-

struction—in fact, the place was resorted to by the Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood, for the purposes of worship, until some forty years back, when a small chapel, for their accommodation, was erected at the foot of the mountain—a certain proof of the traditionary sanctity of the spot. We are not aware of their being in Ireland, or elsewhere, any such remains of Druidical worship, as this Temple of Greenan.

Near Druid temples, which were usually surrounded by, or as close as possible to groves of oaks, stood the sacred mounds or mounts, and stone tables, on which the sacrifices were prepared, before they were laid upon the altars, which were in the centre of the temples—these were "*the awful stones of power.*" A few yards from the temple, were usually placed erect stones, at which, it is supposed, the priests performed some ceremony, whilst the sacrifices were burning upon the altars. They pretended to divine events from the flowing of the blood, as well as from the posture and appearance of the entrails of the victims.

There were three orders of Druidesses. The first lived apart from the world, having vowed perpetual virginity, and were much resorted to, and venerated by the people on account of their supposed powers of divination, and curing diseases. The second class consisted of married women, who seldom lived long with their husbands, but assisted the male Druids when required. The third class were of the lowest kind, performing the servile offices about the temples and at the sacrifices. At the sacrifices of human victims, the Druidesses were the chief actors. Strabo asserts, that captives in war generally were handed over to them; who dragging them one by one to the side of a large cistern, beside which stood the officiating Druidess with a long knife, which she plunged into the

breast of each; their blood was received into the cistern, from which their most important predictions were formed concerning the fate of a war; which being communicated to the warriors, was readily received and acted upon.

It is easy, in such imposing and terrible heathenish ceremonies, to see that they had been derived from very remote antiquity, and when delusive and superstitious observances tended so powerfully to debase the human mind; but, the craft of the Druids, as they were well educated and trained up in the constant practice of various wonderful—shall we call them—deceptions, far exceeded what were afterwards attempted by wizards or necromancers; for they were magicians by profession, and by their cabalistic or diabolical arts, succeeded, for hundreds of years, in imposing upon and ruling mankind.

We ought here, in fairness, to observe, notwithstanding what Dr. Keating—taking the old Irish authors as his guides—asserts in his General History of Ireland to the contrary, that the Scots, (we shall see, by and bye, that this was an ancient name of the Irish), were universally believed to have been of Celtic origin. Their resemblance to the Celtic nations in usages, manners, and religion, would seem to demonstrate this. The Celtæ, a great and warlike people, altogether distinct from the Goths and Teutones, once extended their dominion over all the east of Europe, as well as in Gaul. Wherever the Celtæ or Gauls are mentioned by ancient writers, we seldom fail to hear of their Druids. The Druids were their philosophers, as well as priests; the Bards, already mentioned, were their poets and recorders of heroic actions; and both these orders seem to have subsisted among them, as chief members of the state, from time immemorial. We must not, therefore, imagine the Celtæ to have been a gross or rude nation. They seem to have possessed, from remote

ages, an established system of discipline and manners, which had a deep and lasting influence. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions that, the Druids, who lived together in colleges, or societies, after the Pythagonean manner, asserted the immortality of the soul. Though Julius Cæsar, as we have seen in his account of Gaul, does not expressly mention the Bards, yet it is plain, that under the title of Druids, he comprehends the whole college, or order, of which the Bards undoubtedly formed a part. And so strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations to their poetry and Bards, that amidst all the changes of their government and manners, even long after the order of the Druids had become extinct, and the national religion was altered, the Bards continued to flourish, to be highly respected in the state, and supported at the public expense. We find them, according to the testimonies of Strabo and Diodorus, before the age of Augustus Cæsar; and we find them still, under the same name, and exercising the same functions, as of old, for many centuries afterwards in Ireland, and in the north of Scotland. It is well known, that in both these countries, every chieftain had his own Bard, who was looked upon as a person of rank in his household; and had lands assigned him, which went to his descendants.

But, how little is known of the origin of nations!—what do we know of that wonderful people the Chinese; who were able to observe, and calculate eclipses of the sun in the year 2059, and were also acquainted with the mariner's compass in the year 1115 before Christ—of the Japanese—or of the Singalese, who have left behind them those stupendous works in Ceylon—but, above all, what is known of the origin of the people who designed, constructed, or executed in central America, those edifices adorned with sculpture, &c. which astonish even the

enthusiasts, who, in their keen search of antiquities, have visited Egypt and other countries, known to have been of old inhabited by enlightened nations?—Every one who has perused, with the attention they so well deserve, the accounts given by modern travellers, of what they saw, and had time and opportunity to examine, must have been forcibly struck, with the extraordinary similarity, in religious rites and observances, which seems to have prevailed betwixt the people of Central America, and those of the *old world*, who were worshippers of *Baal*, and this will be the more obvious as we proceed.

But, as to who in reality were the ancestors of the Irish, is not now of much advantage to them, nor of importance to the world at large to know; but if they are not descended from a people who had emigrated from the east, they certainly appear, at a very early period, to have adopted the idolatrous practices of some perhaps maritime and commercial visitors, who evidently had come from thence; for there is no doubt whatever, but that Druidism in many respects, resembled the worship of Baal, though perhaps it afterwards assumed a more terrible form than that in which it was practised in the days of Ahab, and kings of Israel; for, do we not read in the 18th chapter of the 1st Book of Kings—"And it came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, art thou he that troubleth Israel? And he answered, I have not troubled; but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim. Now, therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto Mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred, which eat at Jazebel's table.

"So Ahab sent unto the children of Israel, and gathered the prophets together unto Mount Carmel. And Elijah

came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, *then* follow him. And the people answered him not a word. Then said Elijah unto the people, I, even I only, remain a prophet of the Lord; but Baal's prophets are four hundred and fifty men. Let them therefore give us two bullocks; and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces, and lay it on wood, and put no fire *under*: and I will dress the other bullock, and lay it on wood, and put no fire *under*. And call ye on the name of your gods, and I will call upon the name of the Lord: and the God that answereth by fire, let him be God. And all the people answered and said, It is well spoken. And Elijah said unto the prophets of Baal, choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first, for ye are many: and call upon the name of your gods, but put no fire under. And they took the bullock which was given them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal, from morning even unto noon, saying, O Baal, hear us! But *there was* no voice, nor any one that answered. And they leaped upon the altar which was made.

"And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, cry aloud, for he is a God: either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked. And they cried aloud, and cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them. And it came to pass, when mid-day was past, and they prophesied until the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that *there was* neither voice nor any to answer, nor any that regarded.

"And Elijah said unto the people, come near unto me. And all the people came near unto him. And he repaired the altar of the Lord *that was* broken down. And Elijah

took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be thy name: and with the stones he built an altar in the name of the Lord: and he made a trench about the altar, as great as could contain two measures of seed. And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid him on the wood, and said, fill four barrels with water, and pour it on the burnt-sacrifice, and on the wood. And he said, do it the second time: and they did it the second time. And he said, do it the third time: and they did it the third time. And the water ran round about the altar; and he filled the trench also with water.

"And it came to pass, at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that Elijah the prophet came near, and said, Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou *art* God in Israel, and that *I am* thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord, hear me; that this people may know that thou *art* the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back again. Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt-sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said, the Lord, he is the God, the Lord, he is the God.

"And Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets of Baal; let not one of them escape. And they took them: and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and slew them there."

Notwithstanding this miraculous interposition of the Almighty, which was witnessed by all Israel, yet when Ahab slept with his fathers, his son Ahaziah, who reigned over Israel in his stead, did evil in the sight of the Lord,

and walked in the way of his father, and in the way of his mother Jezabel, and in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. For he served Baal, and worshipped him, and provoked to anger the Lord God of Israel, according to all that his father had done. And it was not for many reigns after—not until that of Josiah, that the groves of Baalim, were, in his presence, cut down, and the carved images, and the molten images, were broken in pieces, made dust of, and strewed upon the graves of those who had sacrificed unto them. And he also burnt the bones of the priests upon their alters. After this, who can doubt, but that Druidism and the worship of Baal, or a plurality of gods, (the sun and fire, and the moon, as well as all the host of heaven, were amongst the number worshipped), in fact, that Druidism and the worship of Baal were identical? It is, however, very remarkable that when religious institutions, like those of the Druids, constitute, as it were, a part of the manners and customs of nations, they become as durable as inherent, and descend from generation to generation; and, it has been but too justly observed by a French writer, that when the Romish Clergy, succeeded the Druids in Gaul, they succeeded them also in their prerogatives—the same exemptions, the same political rights, the same influence over public as well as private affairs, the same terrific power of excommunication; in short they continued to exercise the same supreme and irresistible authority, as the Druids had done of old over mankind.

We find in the different accounts of them—strange as it may appear—that the Druids taught the duties of moral virtue, and enforced the precepts of natural religion, with a strong desire for liberty, and an ardent love of country. Be this as it may, the tenets of Druidism, and an attachment to them, and their degrading superstitious obser-

vances, had a most powerful hold upon the minds of the people of all countries, at the period when the light of Christianity began to dawn upon the world; and no where more particularly so, than in Ireland; where, according to Toland's History of the Druids, every member of a family was required, as the Israelites had been before them, *to pass through the fire;* as that ceremony was deemed necessary to insure good fortune during the succeeding year. On the 1st of May, the Baal fires were most religiously lit up: indeed, so numerously, as to give the country the appearance of a general conflagration. Another of the periodical fire-ceremonies was kept on the first of November. On the previous evening, every fire in the country was extinguished, in order to be supplied by a portion of the holy flame, that was to be kindled and consecrated by the Druids,—almost the same ceremony appears to have been practised by the ancient inhabitants of Central America. No person who had offended, or was in arrear with the priest's dues, was permitted to light his torch at the sacred fire, until reparation was made. If he refused to comply, and that too in the most abject and submissive manner, sentence of excommunication was instantly pronounced against him, when no one dared to give him shelter, fire, or food. The dread of this portentous day, is not even yet wholly extinct in many parts of Ireland and Scotland; and who has not heard of, or seen practised, the superstitious rites of Halloween. Need we therefore be surprised, that such a system of idolatry should have enchained the mental faculties of man, or that the Druids who (like the Romish priesthood, even unto the present day, acknowledge no head, but the Pope of Rome), obeyed no one but their own chief, who were exempt from bearing arms, and whose persons were considered sacred and inviolable, should have exercised such

irresistible power and influence wherever they had once contrived to establish themselves; and, as little ought we to be surprised to find, how hard it is, even for many generations after the effects of such superstitions might be supposed to have ceased to operate, to eradicate deeply rooted propensities and prejudices; and which, in fact, became afterwards mixed up, as it were, in their minds with Christianity: so much was this the case, that their descendants, even as yet, are not by any means free from them.

It is asserted in Dr. Keating's General History of Ireland, that it was in the twelfth year of the reign of Criomhthan Niadhnar—who had obtained that name from being one of the bravest and most victorious champions of the age he lived in—that *Jesus Christ* the *Saviour* of the world, was born. We find also what follows in the history of Connor, King of Ulster:—(There is a strange story told of this king, how he was desperately wounded in the head by a *ball of brains*, let fly at him by Ceat—General of the army of Conacht—from a sling, and of the way in which he was cured)—"The king strictly observed the directions of the surgeon; for the violence of heat or passion would force the wound open, and by that means bring his life into the utmost danger; and in this state Connor continued for seven years, to the great joy of his subjects; *till* (as some of the Irish Chronicles, though of no great authority, assert,) the Friday on which our *Saviour* was crucified; and then the king, being surprised at the dreadful and supernatural eclipse, and shocked at the horrid darkness and convulsion of nature, that followed the death of the Son of God, consulted with one Bacrach, an eminent Druid of Leinster, to know the occasion and design of that wonderful event. The pagan prophet replied, that the cause of those strange and violent altera-

tions arose from a barbarous murder that day committed by the wicked Jews, upon a most innocent and divine person, Jesus Christ, the Son of the everlasting God. The king resented that inhuman act with such passion, that he cried out, if he were a spectator of the villany, he would be revenged upon those barbarous Jews, who had the insolence to destroy his Lord, the Son of the great God of the whole earth. He immediately drew his sword, and went to an adjacent grove, and distracted almost to madness at the thought of that abominable act, he hacked and cut the trees, protesting, if he were in the country of the Jews, where this holy person was executed, he would be revenged upon his murderers, and chop them to pieces, as he did those trees; and by the violence of his anger, his blood and spirits were disordered and fermented, which had that effect, that the wound burst open, and some of his brains followed, so that he died upon the spot. The grove of trees where this accident happened, was called Coill Lamhruadhe, from the hand of this Conner, King of Ulster.

"But the authors who deliver this account of Connor," says Dr. Keating, "are not to be respected, when they contradict the more solemn testimony of the Irish records, which assert distinctly, that Connor was dead long before the birth of Christ. It must be confessed, that some circumstances of the above relation are supported by good authority; for it is certain that Bacrach, a famous Druid of Leinster, did prophesy to the people of that province, and foretell that a most holy and divine person should be born in a wonderful manner, and be barbarously murdered by the great council of his own nation, notwithstanding his design of coming into the world was for the happiness and salvation of the whole earth, and to redeem them from the delusions and tyranny of infernal demons, whose office

was to torture them with insupportable pains in a future state. And these cruel and ungrateful indignities that were to be offered to this innocent and godlike man made such an impression upon Connor, that he was overcome with indignation and resentment, and drawing his sword, he hacked and chopped the wood like a person distracted, which so inflamed his spirits, that the *ball of brains* dropped off, and he fell down dead. But the death of this king happened long before Christ was born, and therefore that circumstance of the history must be false."

Dr. Keating farther remarks :—"If it should be thought incredible that a pagan prophet should be so inspired as to foretell the birth and crucifixion of Christ, I desire that it should be considered that Almighty God, to accomplish the ends of his all-wise designs, might, if he pleased, vouchsafe such a measure of inspiration to a pagan, as to be able to deliver such a prediction ; and, as an evidence upon this occasion, the oracles of those heathen prophetesses, called Sybils, will prove, that the circumstances of Christ's birth and passion have been foretold by those, who knew nothing of the true God, but lived in the dark ages of ignorance and idolatry." We are surprised that the worthy historian does not here call to his remembrance Balaam's, the prophet of Baal, prophecy of the "*Star of Jacob*," to be found in the 24th chapter of the Book of Numbers.

In confirmation of what is said by Toland, in his account of the Druids, and of some of the remarks we have found it requisite to make, we must continue to quote from Keating's history, who, in speaking of King Tuathal Teachtmhar, whose reign commenced in the year of our Lord 79, says, that "in each portion taken out of the provinces he erected a magnificent palace. In the tract he divided from Munster and added to Meath, he built the royal seat of Tlachtga, where the fire Tlachtga was ordained

to be kindled. The use of this sacred fire was to summon the priests, augurs and Druids of Ireland to repair thither, and assemble upon the eve of All Saints, in order to consume the sacrifices that were offered to their pagan gods; and it was established, under the penalty of a great fine, that no other fire should be kindled upon that night throughout the kingdom; so that the fire that was to be used in the coun trywas to be derived from this holy fire; for which privilege the people were to pay a scraball, which amounts to three pence, every year, as an acknowledgment to the king of Munster, because the palace Tlachtga, where this fire burned, was the proportion taken from the province of Munster and added to the county of Meath.

"The second royal palace that was erected was in the proportion taken from the province of Conacht; and here a general convocation was assembled of all the inhabitants of the kingdom that were able to appear, which was called the convocation of Visneach, and was kept upon the first day of May, where they offered sacrifices to the principal deity of the island, whom they adored under the name *Beul*. Upon this occasion they were used to kindle two fires in every territory in the kingdom, in honour of this pagan god. It was a solemn ceremony, at this time, to drive a number of cattle of every kind between these fires; this was conceived to be an antidote and a preservation against the murrain, or any other pestilential distemper amongst cattle for the year following; and from those fires, that were made in worship of the god *Beul*, is called in the Irish language, La *Beultinne*. The derivation of the word is thus: La in Irish signifies a day, *Beul* is the name of the pagan deity, and *Teinne* is the same with fire in English, which words, when they are pronounced together, sound La *Beultinne*. The king of Conacht, as a tribute and acknowledgement, had a horse and arms from

every lord of a manor, or chieftain of lands that came to this assembly; and the reason of this claim was, because the tract of Visneach was a proportion separated from the province of Conacht, in order to enlarge the borders of Meath."

"The third royal seat erected by Tuathal was the palace of Tailtean, which was a territory added to Meath, and orginally belonged to the province of Ulster. At this place was the celebrated fair of Tailtean held, which was the more remarkable as the inhabitants of the island brought their children thither, that were of a suitable age, and contracted with one another about the marriage of them. The strictest and most becoming order was observed in this meeting; for the men were placed by themselves; the women likewise had a peculiar place at a convenient distance assigned them, where they treated about the disposal of their children, and when the articles were agreed upon they proceeded to the ceremony."

An Irish writer observes:—"No wonder that the kings of Meath were so often monarchs of Ireland. No wonder that the hills of Tara, of Usneach, of Skreen, were so famous! And here, also, was the great fair of Tailtean, where all the Irish lads and lasses met to get married, and where, as now at Ballinasloe, there is a splendid show of fine cattle. So in these primitive days, along the sides of the hill of Tailtean were ranged pretty girls and brave boys; and then, after the young people had for a sufficient time cast sheep's eyes at each other, and after the parents had made proper bargains, and arranged family settlements, games and sports, and feats of activity began, which were similar, and not perhaps inferior, to the Isthmean, or Olympic games of Greece. Human nature is the same in all times and places: the young must marry and be given in marriage. And what great difference is there between

a mother bringing her daughter to range her with others along the side of a ball-room, and so make a show of her, and the Milesian mother of olden time leading her blushing girl to Tailtean, to sit modestly on the green clover, and with downcast *diamonds*, every now and then peeping out from beneath her long eye-lashes to spy whether the boys from the opposite side of the line were cocking their bonnets at her."

"The fourth royal seat erected by Tuathal Teachtmhar, was the palace of Teamhair, that is, Tara, which was added to Meath, and originally belonged to the province of Leinster. In this stately fabric the general meetings of the several states of the kingdom were held, which convention was called, the royal assembly of Tara. This parliament was summoned once in three years, and was also distinguished by the name of Feas Teamhrach. The business of this assembly was to enact wholesome laws for the government of the kingdom, to examine into the ancient chronicles and records, to purge them of all false and spurious relations, and to settle the genealogies of the renowned Gadelians. The pedigrees and noble exploits of the several families in the island were brought before this assembly, who appointed a select committee of the most learned antiquaries to search into the truth and authority of them; and if they were approved, and pleased the scrutiny, they were admitted by the parliament, and transcribed into the royal records called the Psalter of Tara; so that whatever laws, customs, or genealogies were offered to be introduced, if they were not upon enquiry to be found in this venerable and authentic journal, were not admitted as genuine, but were rejected as an imposition upon posterity."

We ought here to state, that in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is preserved the fragment of an

ancient Irish manuscript, which contains a description of the banqueting hall of Tamar or Tara. It states "that the palace of Tamar was formerly the seat of Con, of the hundred battles; it was the seat of Art, and of Cairbre Liffeachar, and of Cathor Mor, and every king who ruled in Tamar, to the time of Niall.

"In the reign of Cormac, the palace of Tamar was nine hundred feet square; the diameter of the surrounding *rath*, seven *diu*, or casts of a dart; it contained 150 apartments, 150 dormitories, or sleeping rooms for guards, and sixty men in each; the height was twenty-seven cubits; there were 150 common drinking horns, twelve porches, twelve doors, and 1000 guests daily, besides princes, orators, and men of science, engravers of gold and silver, carvers, modellers, and nobles.

"The eating hall had twelve stalls or divisions in each wing, tables and passages round them; sixteen attendants on each side, eight to the astrologers, historians, and secretaries, in the rear of the hall, and two to each table at the door; one hundred guests in all; two oxen, two sheep, and two hogs, at each meal divided equally to each side."

"The quantities of meat and butter that were daily consumed at Tara surpass all description. There were twenty-seven kitchens, and nine cisterns for washing hands and feet—a ceremony never dispensed with from the highest to the lowest."

Having thus, through the means of this manuscript, endeavoured to describe the celebrated Tara, we may be excused for adding the following translation of a bardic composition, which we may imagine to have been recited or sung in Irish, "in the days of other years," in those halls:—"On a bright summer's morn, by the king's river, I beheld a stately brown-haired maid; her voice was sweeter

than the music of the fairy host, and whiter was her cheek than the foam of the waves.

"Her slender waist like the chalky cliff! her small light foot, gliding with delight o'er the grassy meads of the desert! 'Oh, fair one of the valleys,' I softly said, 'unless you come with me, I shall have no health.'

"At the birth of this lovely maid there came a harmonious bee, with a shower of honey on her berry lip. I kissed this fragrant, fair, mirthful maid—'twas delightful, I vow; but list to my tale.

"The sting of her burning lips went like an arrow through my heart; I was left without power; though, mournful to relate—is it not wonderful that I live with an arrow in my heart, though hundreds before me have fallen by her love."

"It was this prince, Tuathal Teachtmhar," says Dr. Keating, "that first laid the tribute, or chief-rent, called Boiroimhe, upon the province of Leinster, which he exacted as satisfaction for the death of two young princesses, his daughters, who lost their lives on account of the king of Leinster; their names were Fithir and Dairine. The king of this province, called Eochaidh Ainchean, was married to Dairine, the eldest sister, and brought her away with him, to his royal palace in Leinster. About a year after this marriage this lascivious prince, not contented with the embraces of this lady, craftily went to Tara, the court of Tuathal, and told him, that his daughter Dairine was dead, which loss could no way be repaired to him unless he would condescend to bestow her sister upon him, for he valued the honour of his friendship, which would be more sacred and lasting by this alliance, and in some measure contribute towards the public peace of the kingdom. This request was complied with by the king of Ireland, and the princess Fithir was delivered to Eochaidh Ainchean,

who married her, and took her with him to his province. When she arrived, she found her sister Dairine, and was so surprised and overcome with shame at the sight of her, that she fainted away and could not be recovered, for she instantly died. The unfortunate Dairine, not suspecting the virtue of her sister, was so affected with the loss of her that she threw herself upon the dead body, and her grief was so violent that she fell into convulsions, which immediately put an end to her life.

"The Irish monarch, informed of the tragical end of his two daughters, resolved to revenge their death upon the king of Leinster. He therefore immediately despatched messengers throughout the island, to complain of the indignity offered him; and demanded assistance of the principal nobility and gentry, to vindicate his abused honour, and to chastise the baseness of the unfaithful Eochaidh. They received the letters, and resenting the affront in a proper manner, as became good subjects, they raised an army with all expedition, and when they were fitted out they were sent to Tuathal, to support the justice of his cause, and to invade the territories of the king of Leinster."

Tuathal, thus supported, marched into Leinster, and Eochaidh and his subjects were soon glad to submit to the terms, which have been handed down to us, in the following lines, by a poet of great antiquity:—

"As tribute for the death of two princesses,
And in revenge for the base act of Eochaidh,
The men of Leinster were obliged to pay
To Tuathal, and all the monarchs after him,
Threescore hundred of the fairest cows,
And threescore hundred ounces of pure silver,
And threescore hundred mantles richly woven,
And threescore hundred of the fattest hogs,
And threescore hundred of the largest sheep,
And threescore hundred cauldrons strong and polish'd.

This tribute was appointed to be sent,
A third part to the inhabitants of Conacht,
Another third to Oirgiall, and the rest
To Jobh Neill,"

"This tax was known in Ireland by the name of Boiroimhe Saighean, or the tribute of Leinster, and was duly paid every second year during the reign of forty monarchs in Ireland, after Tuathal, who first received it. But the province of Leinster was delivered from the payment of this tax by the intercession of St. Moling, who obtained from Fianachata a forbearance till Monday, as he expressed it. The Saint, it seems, had an equivocal evasion, for he meant the Monday after Doomsday, by which artifice he overreached the king, who remitted the tribute."

We are apprehensive of exhausting the reader's patience; but we must still make a few more extracts from Dr. Keating's History, as they throw much light on the state of Ireland, as well as of society, at the period of which we are now treating:—"During the reign of Tuathal Teachtmhar, as the Irish records of Tara expressly mention, there were two general assemblies convened within the kingdom of Ireland: the first was summoned to the palace of Eamhain, in Ulster; the other met at Cruachan, in the province of Conacht. The most remarkable ordinances and laws, that were debated and established in these great councils of the nation, were the following:— It was enacted, that all the annals, histories, and other public chronicles of the kingdom, should be examined and revised, and the same method should be used in fixing their authority, as was ordained by the committee of the triennial parliament, in the reign of that illustrious monarch Ollamh Fodhla; for great corruptions had been introduced from the murder of Fiachadh Fionoluidh, under the usurpation

of the plebeians, and those conventions had been discontinued till the restoration of Tuathal."

"It was likewise established, in that august assembly, by the king and his nobles, that the artificers, the tradesmen, and handicraftsmen of the kingdom, should be brought under regulation; for which end, the mechanics of all occupations, smiths, carpenters, musicians, and all other ingenious professions, were summoned to attend upon these triennial parliaments: when they came, a select committee was appointed to examine into the skill and abilities of every mechanic, and to make choice of sixty of the most eminent in their several professions, who had authority, by commission, to govern and be supervisors over the rest. Every one of these had the proper extent of his jurisdiction settled; and their office was to reform all abuses in their several professions, and suspend such as were unskilful, or by mismanagement brought their art into disrepute, from the exercise of their trades: so that no person was allowed publicly to practise his art, or profess any mechanical employments without a licence from these commissioners, after he had been strictly examined, and accepted, by reason of his abilities, in the trade and business he designed to follow. These supervisors, invested with this authority, were known in the Irish language by the name of Jollanuidh, which signifies skilful and able mechanics. Before this time, it must be observed, that very few of the posterity of the Milesians professed any trade or occupation, but were generally persons of some estate, or employed in the army, or in other posts of the government. The mechanics of the country, in those days, were the remnant of the Tuatha de Danans, who were permitted to stay in the kingdom, the Brigantes, (or people driven out of the Roman province, of which York was afterwards the capital) and some of

the principal plebeians: the lower branches of the Milesian race were the militia of the island, the historians, antiquaries, harpers, physicians, and Brehon or judges, and other public officers of the state, who would not submit to any manual labour, lest they should degrade and bring a stain upon the honour of their families."

It should be here observed, that it is no longer doubtful, but that there are numbers of old and valuable manuscripts still forthcoming, which throw much light upon the topography and ancient history of Ireland. Amongst other deeply interesting matters, they are said to contain the *Brehon laws*, probably, as revised and amended, as we have just seen, in the reign of Tuathal Teachtmhar; and, as they were afterwards modified, when a religious education became so general, and when the minds of all classes had been benignly influenced by primitive Christianity. Mr. Petrie, like Dr. Keating, mentions that these laws are most minutely detailed, and were copiously commented upon; and that they notice every description of crime, every ramification of domestic life, branch of art or trade, or kind of property. It would seem, also, that they closely resemble our Saxon codes of law, or at least, hold a close relation to them. This being the case, how truly disappointing it would be, if the Irish University, possessing, as we are assured it does, such interesting and useful documents, should not determine to take immediate steps to have them carefully examined by persons sufficiently acquainted with the Irish language and character, and competent to give them to the world, as far as practicable, in a correct translation into English, carefully noting and pointing out evident interpolations and alterations. This could surely be done, and at no very great expense, by several persons in Ireland, and among others, by Mr. Patrick Lee of Dublin, teacher of the Irish

language, his vernacular tongue; and who is conversant with the provincial differences, both of phraseology and pronunciation.

We take—as it tends to enable us to connect occurrences in Irish history—what follows from a "Tour to Connaught," letter iii.: "Proceeding onwards for a mile or two from Clonard, the road reaches a long continuous line of gravel hills, along which it runs for a considerable distance, and which is, perhaps, one of the oldest lines of road in Europe. These long lines of gravel hills are all through Ireland called eiscirs: this one is that which formed, in ancient times, the grand division of Ireland. I think I could trace this eicir from Dublin Bay by the green hills of Cerumlin, and so along by the eskir of Lucan, then south of the Liffey, near Celbridge, and so across the river near Clane, onwards by Donadea, until it strikes the line of road we are now travelling—then trending southwards of the hill of Cloghan, until, near Philipstown, another line of road takes advantage of its elevation, to run between two bogs; then passing through the barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County, in a very distinct line, it strikes the Shannon, in the exact centre of the island, at Clonmacnoise. This very curious natural *vallum*, just as distinct as the great Roman wall dividing South Britain from Caledonia, was adopted as the dividing line between the two parts of Ireland, and was called Eicir Riada, extending from Dublin to Galway, the northern portion being called Leath Con, and the southern, Leath Mogha. The cause of this division, as the Irish historian has it, was this: in the year A. D. 125, Con Ceadcathach, (of the 100 battles) was Monarch of Ireland, and his reign "Patria More" was turbulent. According to the custom of his country, though *Monarch* of Ireland, he found it hard enough to be its *master*. He fought an hundred battles, as his name im-

plies . . . . Con after being victorious in ninety battles, over sundry Septs, found at last a powerful antagonist in Mogha Nuadat, King of Munster. Mogha not content with his own share of Ireland, must needs try his hand with Con; and defeating his liege lord, compelled him to divide the island, and this eicir formed the boundary—the northern division being called Leath Con, or Con's half, and the southern Leath Mogha, or Mogha's half."

But Dr. Keating tells us, that some of these Irish chronicles state, that about the year of our Lord, 130, a dreadful famine prevailed in the island; and which, it is asserted, an eminent Druid, by his art, had been enabled to foretell, seven years before it happened. Betwixt the years 213 and 253, frequent mention is made of the Druids, who still maintained their long established power and influence in the kingdom:—what follows is, at least, curious, if not important—"Cormac, the monarch of Ireland, it must be observed, was a prince of great virtue, and strict morality, and very exact in the worship of the Deity, as far as the light of nature informed him; and his piety and devotion found acceptance and a reward from above; for, the merciful God was pleased to deliver him from the obscurity of pagan darkness, and enlightened him with the true faith of the Gospel. He was converted seven years (that is, about the year 246) before his death, during which time he refused to adore his false deities; and instead of bowing to idols, he did homage, as a devout Christian, to the true God; so that this prince was the third person who believed in the faith of Christ, before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland. The names of these converts were Connor, the son of Neasa, who was informed of the sufferings of Christ, and the redemption of mankind, by Bacrach, a pagan Druid; Moran, son of Maoin, the second, and Cormac king of Ireland."

"This prince kept his court, as did most of his predecessors in the throne of Ireland, at the royal palace of Tara, till he had the misfortune to lose his eye by Aongus Gaothbhuailteach; and from that time till he died, he lived in a very mean house, covered with thatch, at Anachuill, in Ceananus. The reason of retiring from his court was, because the principal nobility and gentry of the kingdom supposed it to be a bad omen for the happiness of the public, if a king, who had any blemish upon him, should reside in the royal palace of Tara; and, therefore, Cormac resigned the government to his son, whose name was Cairbre Liffeachair, and contented himself with that ordinary house at Anachuil, which was not far from the court. In this contented privacy he spent the remainder of his life; and being a prince of great learning, and an accomplished statesman, here it was that he drew up that admirable treatise, called Advice to Kings, (may we hope that this is still forthcoming?) for the use of his son; and during his retreat from public business, he banished all rites of superstition and idolatry, and improved himself in the worship and knowledge of the true God."

"In those pagan times, one of the idols of the ancient Irish, was a *golden calf*, and it happened, that when Cormac was employing himself in devotion in his thatched house, some of the Druids that belonged to the court, brought this image into his presence; and, as their custom was, fell down before it, and adored it with divine worship; but the king continued his addresses to the true God, and would not comply with their idolatry. Maoilogeann, who was the principal of these pagan priests, perceiving that the king acted in contempt of their holy rites, demanded of him the reason why he did not comply with the religion of his ancestors, and pray to the golden calf, and conform to the established worship? The king

answered, that it was beneath the dignity of a rational being to adore a brute, which he determined never to do, much less a log of wood fashioned by the workman's hand, who was no more able to make a god than to create himself, and, therefore, he would direct his addresses to that supreme *Being*, who formed the carpenter and the tree, superstitiously converted into a god. The Druid then conveyed away the image, and soon after brought it to the king, and presented it before him, dressed in the most magnificent attire, decked with jewels, and confidently demanded, whether he would not address himself to a deity so splendidly arrayed, and of so majestic appearance? Cormac replied, that it was in vain to tempt him to idolatry, for he was resolved to pay no divine homage but to one supreme God, the creator of the heavens and of the earth, and of a place of punishment for the wicked, who corrupt his worship, and disobey his laws. This resolution of the king, it is supposed, cost him his life; for the very same day, in the evening, a salmon was provided for his supper, which the sorcery and magical art of this pagan priest had so enchanted, that a bone of the fish stuck in the king's throat, and choked him. Other authorities assert, that as the king was at supper eating the fish, a number of infernal fiends were raised by the charms of the Druid Maoilogeann, who set upon the king, and strangled him: but before he expired, he gave orders to his servants not to bury him in the royal sepulchre of the Irish monarchs; for he would not have his dust mixed with that of his pagan predecessors."

"His commands were obeyed, and another place was appointed for his interment; but as his body was carrying upon a bier, after the custom of the country, the river Boyne was so enlarged, and overflowed its banks in so wonderful a manner, by the wicked arts of these infernal

spirits, that the bearers could not attempt to pass over the channel; for these furies of hell would not admit his body to be buried in a temple devoted to their service, because he refused to conform to their abominable rites, and introduced a way of worship in opposition to the established religion. This stratagem these cursed spirits made use of three several times, in order to prevent the interment of the body; but the servants entrusted with the care of the funeral did not desist from their duty; for, notwithstanding these dreadful discouragements, they made a fourth attempt to carry the royal corpse over the river; but the body was whirled out of their hands by a hurricane and dropped into the stream, which was so rapid that it rolled it along to Rosnariogh, where it was washed off from the carriage. Upon this account that part of the river Boyne is distinguished by the name of Athfuaid to this day; for ath in the Irish language signifies a ford, and the word fuaid a bier, which being joined are pronounced Athfuaid. The body, when it was found, was taken up and buried solemnly at Rosnariogh.

"A long time after this action, as the chronicles of Ireland inform us, the head of this monarch was found by St. Collum Cill, or, as modern authors call him, St. Columba; who buried it; and in the same place he continued till he had celebrated thirty masses for his departed soul, which gave occasion to the erecting of a church over the grave, which remains to this day."

What we have here given is chiefly according to Dr. Keating's History of Ireland, which we have carefully perused, and must readily admit that he is justified in asserting, "that no nation which ever figured, or still figures on earth could, or can produce such connected and authentic accounts of their origin as the Irish." It has, indeed, been too long the fashion to laugh at Irish history,

and to pretend to consider Irish chronicles and annals as mere fabrications, got up to gratify the vanity of the old Milesian families. We at all events venture not to question what Dr. Keating tells us (and which is likely soon to be borne out in ancient manuscripts) was recorded at Tara and Cashel, to which he seems to have had free access; and we must say that, in what he gives us as taken from them, there is far less to be found which can be looked upon as fabulous than is evidently so in much that has been pawned upon the world as genuine histories of other nations—the Jews always excepted; at least this appears to us to be the case up to the period when primitive Christianity began to be corrupted in Ireland; but, from that unfortunate epoch, the Irish chronicles, as will be seen as we proceed, assumed a very different garb; having unluckily been penned by writers whose minds in general were strongly tinctured, and views consequently biassed, by Romish, and the remains of Druidical superstitions, as well as by often vague traditions. It may surprise many to find even Dr. Keating gravely telling us that "in times of paganism it was ordained by law, that if any public antiquary had deviated from the truth in any state record, or in the private genealogy of a family, he was immediately degraded, and not allowed for the future to act in his profession: if a judge, through ignorance or corruption, pronounced unjust judgment, he was never afterwards permitted to sit in the courts of justice. And there seems to be good authority to believe that there were several concomitant marks and symptoms that attended the sentence of the judge, either in his own person or in some other remarkable way, whereby it was publicly known whether the decree pronounced was consistent with justice or not; particularly we are informed, by good evidence, that when an Irish judge, called Sean Macaighe, delivered an unjust

sentence there broke out visibly many large blisters upon his right cheek, and when he was upright in his judgments the skin remained smooth, and no postules appeared.

"The celebrated Conla Caoin Breathach administered justice with the strictest equity, was proof against the corruption of bribes, and delivered his sentence without affection or prejudice. Seancha Macuill was a person of consummate wisdom and integrity; and when he presided in courts of justice, and was to pronounce his decree, he always fasted the night before. When his son Fachtua, who was a judge in those times, was unjust in his decision of causes, if it was in the time of harvest, a very remarkable event ensued: upon the night following all the acorns would fall from the trees in that part of the country, which was a great misfortune to the inhabitants; but if his decree was consistent with justice, no calamity ensued, but the oaks retained their fruit. It was observed that if a judge was corrupt in his administration in the spring, when the trees were in blossom, the cows forgot their natural instinct, and would not bear their calves to remain near them: and the famous Moran, the son of Maoin, who was one of the principal judges of the kingdom, when he sat upon the bench to administer justice, put the miraculous chain, called in the Irish language Jodha Morain, about his neck, which was attended with that wonderful virtue, that if the judge pronounced an unjust decree the chain would instantly contract itself, and encompass the neck so close, that it would be almost impossible to breathe; but, if he delivered a just sentence, it would open itself, and hang loose upon the shoulders.

"A certain distinguished evidence of truth or falsehood was likewise observed to attend upon the historians and public notaries of the kingdom, which restrained them from corrupting the genuine chronicles, or altering the

genealogies of private families; but the particular signs that followed cannot be discovered at this distance of time, because many records of moment are lost from whence we might expect information upon this subject. However, we have the same evidence to prove the authority of the Irish annals and public manuscripts as is esteemed sufficient to confirm the histories of other nations; and perhaps it would be no more than the truth to affirm that no people, except the Jews, whose writers were divinely inspired, have more genuine or earlier accounts of the concerns of their ancestors, than the chronicles and records that give being to the present history: and for this reason, among many others, because no nation in the world could possibly be more exact in preserving their records, and transmitting them uncorrupt to posterity, than the ancient Irish; especially considering they were corrected and confirmed by the most pious and learned prelates of the Christian church in that kingdom."

We find that, "Laogaire, (whose reign commenced A. D. 427, and in the third year of which St. Patrick, according to the Irish chronicles, opened his commission in Ireland,) the son of Niall, king of Ireland, summoned a great convention to assemble at Tara, after the custom of his ancestors; and when the principal nobility, gentry, and the most learned antiquaries met, at the time and place appointed, the ancient laws and records were read over; and when they were purged and corrected, and the new statutes were transcribed and added, they were deposited in the most sacred archives, as a body of laws to be consulted upon occasions for the administration of justice, and for the government and public happiness of the kingdom." We trust that these valuable documents, as well as the wonderful *Jodha Morain Chain*, have been preserved in some part of Ireland, and that they are

still forthcoming, even for the benefit of the present generation.

"The manner of the sitting of Laogaire's Parliament," Dr. Keating tells us, "is upon record, in the writings of a learned antiquary, in the following verses:—

"The Irish monarch on his royal throne
Conspicuous sat, in the middle of the house;
The prince of Leinster in a chair of state
Was placed, but with his back to the assembly,
His face towards the king; behind the throne
The prince of Conacht sat; towards the south,
Upon the king's left hand, the prince of Munster
Grac'd the assembly; and upon the right,
Sat in his splendid robes, the prince of Ulster."

Let us now, with Laogaire's Parliament, thus curiously delineated, before us, and looking back to the description of Tara given in this chapter, upon the authority—such as it is—of the old MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin; and at the same time contemplating Tara's fallen and ruinous state, so accurately pictured, as we have seen it, by Mr. Petrie, endeavour to unite with Mr. Moore—the first of Ireland's modern bards—in the feelings of sadness, by which his mind must have been subdued, in reflecting upon the by-gone days of Tara's grandeur and princely hospitality; when he penned these beautiful lines:—

"The harp that once through Tara's halls
The soul of music shed,
Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls
As if that soul were fled.
So sleeps the pride of former days,
So glory's thrill is o'er,
And hearts, that once beat high for praise,
Now feel that pulse no more.

No more to chiefs and ladies bright
The harp of Tara swells;
The chord, alone, that breaks at night,
Its tale of ruin tells.
Thus freedom now so seldom wakes,
The only throb she gives,
Is when some heart indignant breaks,
To shew that still she lives.

SECTION II.

" Truth bids me look on men, as autumn leaves;
And all they bleed for, as the summer's dust,
Driven by the whirlwind: Lighted by her beams,
I widen my horizon, gain new powers,
See things invisible, feel things remote."—YOUNG.

CHRISTIANITY, as well as we can now ascertain, was first attempted to be introduced into Ireland, but at what period seems to be very uncertain, by Sedulius and Palladius; and afterwards successfully, in primitive simplicity and purity, by Patricius, or St. Patrick, in the fourth century after the birth of Christ. Dr. Keating, in his General History of Ireland, says that, " there is an old manuscript in vellum, exceeding curious, entitled the life of St. Patrick, which treats likewise of the lives of Muchuda Albain and other saints, from which I shall transcribe a citation, that relates to St. Patrick, and particularly mentions that he was of *Welsh* extraction:"— " Patrick was a Briton born, and descended from religious parents." And in the same place, he has the following remark. " The Irish Scots, under Niall their king, wasted and destroyed many provinces of Britain, in opposition to the power of the Romans. They attempted to possess themselves of the northern part of Britain; and, at length, having driven out the old inhabitants, those Irish seized upon the country, and settled in it." The same author, upon this occasion remarks, that from thence forward Great Britain was divided into three kingdoms, that were distinguished by the names of Scotia, Anglia, and Britia."

This ancient author likewise asserts, that, "when Niall, the hero of the nine hostages, undertook the expedition of settling the tribe of the Dailriada in Scotland, the Irish fleet sailed to the place where St. Patrick resided: at this time the fleet out of Ireland plundered the country in which St. Patrick then lived, and, according to the custom of the Irish, many captives were carried away from thence, among whom was St. Patrick in the sixteenth year of his age, and his two sisters, Lupida and Darenca: and St. Patrick was led captive into Ireland, in the ninth year of the reign of Niall, king of Ireland, who was the mighty monarch of the kingdom for twenty-seven years, and brought away spoils out of England, Britain, and France." This is the account given in the curious old manuscript; but Dr. Keating being a good and zealous Papist, for whom it would be rather awkward to allow that St. Patrick was a Briton; for the Britons were positively, as we shall see, not for hundreds of years after the period of St. Patrick's captivity, Roman Catholics, but had their own ancient and independent church, he adds:—"And this I am rather induced to believe, because the mother of St. Patrick was the sister of Martin, the bishop of Turin, in France; and I have read in an ancient Irish manuscript, whose authority I cannot dispute, that St. Patrick and his two sisters were brought captive into Ireland, from Armorica or Britanny, in the kingdom of France. It is evident likewise, that when Niall the king of Ireland had subdued the Britons, he dispatched a formidable fleet to plunder the coasts of France, and had so great success, that he carried away numbers of the natives with him into captivity, one of which it is reasonable to suppose, was the young Patrick, who was afterwards distinguished by the name of the Irish Saint."

It is asserted by some Romanists that St. Patrick was

sent by Celestine, Bishop of Rome, to convert the Irish to Christianity, in the year 423—by others, that it was Palladius who was at that period sent by Celestine. We are told that the former was sixty years old, when he first undertook the work of the Irish apostleship, and continued in it for sixty years after; and with such success, that he converted the whole of the Irish, and died at the age of an hundred and twenty. Again, it is equally confidently asserted, that he was never in Rome—that in his youth he was made captive and carried into Ireland—that he there remained some years in slavery; and then made his escape, having been induced to do so by what was revealed to him in a dream. It is likewise said, that after he had become an ecclesiastic in Gaul, he was, in another dream, commanded to return into Ireland; which he did, performed wonders there, as we find related in Romish Legends, in converting the Irish from Druidism to Christianity; and that he died Archbishop of Armagh, at the age of seventy-eight.

What are called St. Patrick's "Confessions" (and admitted by many to be a genuine work of his, written not in his native tongue, but in bad Latin,) in some measure corroborate what has been already stated as to his early life. But, we find it recorded in a work recently published, which bears the title of "*Perranzabuloe, the lost Church found,*" that the first Cornish apostle, of any note, was Corantinus, born in Britanny, who first preached to his countrymen, and then to the Irish; till being violently expelled from Ireland, he passed over into Cornwall, and converted almost the whole of the people of that country to Christianity before his death, A.D. 401. Scarcely was Corantinus gathered to his fathers, when a more celebrated man than himself landed in Cornwall. This was Piranus, born of noble parents, in Ossory in Ireland, A.D. 352;

where he passed his first thirty years, leading a life of strict morality, though not yet converted to the Christian faith. About the year 382, he was converted by a Christian laic. He then determined to visit Rome, where he had heard that Christianity was sincerely taught and faithfully practised. He accordingly went there, was farther instructed, and then baptised. He after this, devoted some years to the study of the Scriptures, in collecting books, &c. &c.; when he was ordained Bishop, and sent back to Ireland, in company with five other priests, who were afterwards Bishops there; he shewed all concord, and subjection, and discipleship to St Patrick, present or absent, and was very successful in converting the savage people; who built a town, close to a lake, called Fuaran, where he usually resided, calling it Sierkeran—that is, St. Kieran, (his tomb, we are told, is still to be seen at Clonmacnoise), which was by the Britons called Piran, by a change of letters usual in their language. Some Latins called him Queranus. Being at last desirous of quiet and retirement, in order to prepare for his latter end, he passed over into Cornwall, and acquired such respect, and veneration among the people, on account of his piety, that the Cornish (says Camden) have consecrated many of their towns to the memory of the Irish saints who accompanied him to Cornwall."

At present there is little remaining to indicate the greatness to which Seir Kyran, or as it is now called in Ireland, St. Kyran, had attained. Some mouldering walls, and a stone-roofed tower, partly covered with ivy, about 15 feet in diameter, and 20 feet high, are the only remains of its antiquity now to be seen above the surface of the ground. The vestiges of the numerous deep ditches and high ramparts, which nearly surround the place, and encompass about ten Irish plantation acres, indicate that it was

formerly of importance. This is farther shewn by the crumbling ruins of a sod fort, and by some double ramparts. We are indebted for the above to the editor of the Dublin Penny Journal, who adds that St. Kyran's father's name was Lugneus, a noble of Ossory, and his mother's, Liadian. Colgan says, "that he met St. Patrick in Italy, who desired him to proceed before him to Ireland, and at a fountain called Fuaran, about the centre of the kingdom, to build a monastery, where St. Patrick would afterwards visit him." The ruins of Seir Kyran's church, King's County, are actually adjoining the rivulet called Fuaran; and there is also, a little to the south of the church, a holy well, neatly faced with stone embankments, and shaded with thorns, well hung with scraps of calico, &c., dedicated to the tutelary saint.

At Seir Kyran there is one of those curious round towers to be found in so many parts of Ireland; but it is only, as stated, about twenty feet high, with a conical stone roof. It has a great many loop holes, which are about four inches square on the outside, but are bevelled off so as to adjoin each other on the inside. The editor of the Dublin Penny Journal supposes this tower to have been used for keeping up a consecrated fire in it. The reader is already aware of what Toland's History contains respecting the Druids and their consecrated fires. "Macgeoghagan, tom. 1. p. 81, writes, there was an annual Druidical fire lighted at Ilachta, in the barony of Clonlisk, King's County. The same historian,—like Dr. Keating,—says, that this was an institution of the monarch Tuathal Teachtmar. It is said by early writers, that this practice was continued after the introduction of Christianity; but of this, we conceive, there is no sufficient proof. And we are told that St. Patrick had his consecrated fire; and St. Briget had at Kildare her perpetual fire. Ware informs

us, that Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin, put out St. Briget's fire, *because the custom was not used elsewhere.* In a paper of Mr. Cooke's, of Birr, giving an account of the Barnaari-Cailawn, (a curious ancient fire-cover in that gentleman's possession) published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, as read before that learned body, the 7th of January, 1822, he shews that relic to have been the cover of a perpetual fire, instituted in the parish of Glaukeen, county of Tipperary by St. Cailawn, brother to Cormac McCullenan, who was king and Bishop of Cashel upwards of nine hundred years ago. In like manner it is asserted that St. Kyran had his consecrated fire, in imitation of the Druidical one at Ilachta, which was but a short distance from his monastery. It would also appear that a consecrated fire had been kept up at the monastery of Clonmacnoise; and for which purpose round towers were erected at these places—thus it would seem, that the practice of consecrated fires, and having round towers for containing them, must have been adopted by the early Irish Christians in imitation of the Druidical custom.

We are aware of Colgan and Joceline having collected or written Lives of Ireland's Patron Saint, but Dr. Keating, at the commencement of his second volume of the General History of Ireland, has taken much pains to shew that St. Patrick was commissioned by the Bishop of Rome, to establish Christianity and churches throughout Ireland. But, even admitting this, for a moment, to have been the case, and that the Roman Catholic writers from whom, to prove this the Doctor quotes, communicated what by legends and traditions they were taught to believe; yet it does not by any means follow, that though St. Patrick planted Christianity in Ireland, it was Christianity clogged with the corruptions and puerilities, that long

after his time, crept into the Romish branch of the Church of Christ; and we shall see, when we come to speak of the Life of St. Columba, that pure scriptural doctrines were what he must have taught his followers. Of this, the doctrines, inculcated by St. Columba himself, bear ample testimony, and thus we are also led to conclude, that St. Patrick belonged to the ancient British Church, or to a Church professing the same faith and doctrines—both very different from those maintained by the Romish Church of the present day.

Of all the accounts of the proceedings of St. Patrick in Ireland, when he arrived there, as its apostle, which have fallen in our way, the best, by far, is the following, as given in the "Dublin Penny Journal;" to the editor of which we have already expressed ourselves as indebted. For, in speaking of the Abbey of St. Mary De Urso, at Drogheda, he says:—The "Old Abbey," anciently the Abbey of St. Mary de Urso, or Augustinian Convent, is situated on the north side of the river Boyne, in the town of Drogheda, immediately within West Gate. We have no authentic documents of its foundation; but the general opinion ascribes its origin to St. Patrick; and the particulars are traditionally related as follows:—

In the year 443, St. Patrick, having founded the Abbey of Louth, and spent a portion of his time at Ard-Patrick, situated eastward of that town, determined to visit Tara, then the residence of the Irish monarch; and his route lying through Tredagh, (Drogheda) on his approach to that town, the fame of his sanctity flying before him, induced many of the inhabitants, then pagans, to go out to meet him; which they accordingly did, at a place still called Clough-Patrick, about two miles from Drogheda, on the Collon road. Here the holy man preached the tidings of salvation to them, standing on a large stone,

which is yet preserved, and retains the impression of his knees and crozier, once believed to be miraculous, but which, it is now thought, was chiselled on its surface by some of his converts, to commemorate the event. After this, advancing to Drogheda, he here, (where the Abbey is situated) finding a well, proceeded to baptize those who were desirous of receiving that rite; and subsequently founded, contiguous to it, this monastery, in which he placed some of his disciples; for it seems to have been his invariable practice, to settle some of his brethren as Missionaries, in every promising situation where they might water the good seed he had sown, by their precept and example; and to this practice do we owe almost all the religious establishments in Ireland; and as baptism was then, as now, the seal of admission into the Christian Church, these societies were, in all cases, where practicable, planted near the wells first used; (and which had, in general, been sacred Druidical fountains previously), and hence the origin of holy wells, so abundant in Ireland. This well still gives name to Patrick's-well Lane, but has been closed up some time since, and the water conducted by pipes to a pump erected in the rear of the Linen Hall.

St. Patrick's convent, like all other similar erections then in Ireland, was constructed of wattles; as we have an account of one of the brotherhood being expelled for drawing a wattle out of the roof to defend himself against some person who had assaulted him.

The next notice we have of this convent is A. D. 738, in which year Cuan, the grandson of Bessan, and scribe of Trevet, called also, "Cuannain O'Breffair, the remarkable scribe of Trevet," (a monastery in the County of Meath, three miles south-east of Tara), died here.

Cardinal Papero, the Pope's legate, (according to our author), held a Synod here, A. D. 1152; and shortly after,

"Amlave, the Abbot, was expelled for his sacrilegious crimes. He was afterwards chosen Abbot of Maghbile, now Moville, in the County of Down; and in the year 1170, in conjunction with Eochadha, king of Ulidea, and some of his people, drove the Abbot and monks of Saul out of the abbey, which had been built by themselves, and plundered them of their books, vestments, and other furniture, with their herds, flocks, and all their goods whatsoever. But this wicked action did not pass unpunished; for on the same Thursday in the ensuing year, Eochadha and his followers fell into the hands of a much inferior enemy; and the king being desperately wounded, was on the Thursday after murdered by his own brother at Down; the place where the wicked deed was conceived and concluded upon. But these ecclesiastical historians, tender of the character of the Church, do not tell us what was the fate of Amlave." What a melancholy picture does this extract present of the state of society at that time—only two years before the conquest of Ireland by Henry II. of England.

About the year 1206, Ursus de Suamel, with the consent of Christina his wife, founded, without the West Gate, the Hospital of St. Mary de Urso, for the maintenance of the poor and sick; for the support of which he granted all his possessions in Ireland, viz. the ground on which the hospital was erected, containing forty acres, and the lands of Kilnier; the hospital paying thereout to the king half an ounce of gold yearly in lieu of all rent and services; that parcel of land in the mountains which he also held of the king, at the yearly rent of ten shillings for all services; together with several rents, &c. arising from tenements in the town of Drogheda; and further gave, after his decease, the election of keeper of this hospital to the *good men* of Drogheda; and ordered that the

said keeper should not in any case be called prior, but custos, or guardian, and should, at all times, be removable for misbehaviour—witness, "*Eugene, Archbishop of Armagh*" . . . .

It is probable the original Monastery of St. Patrick had gone to decay; for we find that in the year 1240, a convent of Minorites was erected on its site . . . . In the year 1330, the river Boyne overflowed its banks, and did considerable injury to this monastery . . . . In 1519, the Observantine friars reformed this monastery; and on the 20th of March—31st of Henry VIII.—Richard Molane, the last guardian, surrendered it, with all its possessions, into the king's hands, who granted it to the Mayor and corporation of Drogheda.

The only parts remaining of this once extensive abbey, are the tower, the chancel-arch, and a smaller Gothic arch to the west, now forming part of the gable of a stable, with a few fragments of walls in the adjoining yards and enclosures. The church was very extensive, the area of the nave measuring 150 feet by 30. The tower is not so lofty as Magdalen's; but the arch is considerably wider, and spans the lane called Abbey-lane, which is now conducted under it through the nave.

We have, in no instance, met with, seemingly, a more correct account of the transitions which such buildings have undergone since their early foundation, as this abbey; and which circumstance has induced us to dwell more upon it than we intended.

It is very necessary here to give, in as abridged a manner as possible, what is contained in the second edition of that excellent work, "A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, by Robert King, A. B., (late Scholar, T. C. D.) Fellow of the Irish College, Stackallen, respecting St. Patrick's religious opinions, which

have become now-a-days so deeply interesting to every lover of truth.

The writings of St. Patrick, which have come down to us, and are acknowledged genuine, are not many; the principal of them are, his "Confessions;" a letter of his to Coroticus, a Pagan king, or rather to his Christian subjects; and Canons supposed to have been agreed to at a Synod held by him in Ireland, in conjunction with two other eminent men, Auxilius and Isserninus. These works, and the one or two others of less note attributed to him, are as remote as possible from any controversial subjects; but as far as they do incidentally supply us with any light or evidence bearing on the question, their testimony is quite satisfactory for those who argue for the purity of the doctrines of the ancient Church, against the corruptions introduced by the Romish party. We must not, indeed, expect to find St. Patrick preaching against those Romish errors which were not heard of in his time; it is enough that we hear him stating the truth, and sometimes unintentionally and incidentally, as it were, stating in such a way as to leave no room for the admission of those later inventions; more than this it would be unreasonable to look for in his writings.

Now in the works which are ascribed to him, the first point of importance worthy to be noticed is, that the Holy Scriptures are in them constantly alleged as the ground and foundation of Christian doctrine. The written *word* alone is used by the Apostle of Ireland, as his authority for establishing or confirming all his statements; and there is no reference made to the voice of tradition or of the church; while the passages of the Bible referred to are exceedingly numerous. Joceline, the Romish writer of St. Patrick's Life, says, that he used to read the Bible

to the people, and expound it to them for days and nights together.

As for the Romish doctrine of merits, there is nothing to be found in St. Patrick's writings to countenance or support it, or indeed to shew that such a doctrine was known to him. His works, on the contrary, breathe the most humble spirit of distrust in any worthiness of man, or claims on his part to divine favour. The free grace of God alone is alleged as sufficient for man's salvation; and to Him alone is attributed all the good that is wrought in us.

St. Patrick had no idea that it was necessary for all clergymen to be unmarried; why should he, when his own father and grandfather were men in holy orders? One of the canons of his Synod is clear enough as to this point, in which a penalty is enacted against the *wife* of any clergyman, from the highest to the lowest order of the ministry, who should venture out of doors without having her head veiled. There is no trace of the invocation of saints in St. Patrick's writings. As for purgatory, not only is there no mention of it in his writings, but the possibility of its existence is altogether excluded in a work ascribed to him, and enumerated among his writings by several ancient authors, and given with his other works in a volume of them published not long since, by a learned Romanist, Signor Villanueva. And as St. Patrick was quite ignorant of such a place as purgatory, so neither did he know anything of prayers for the dead connected with it in the Romish system. It is necessary to observe that it was usual in the early Church to make offerings of praise and thanksgiving to God annually for those who had suffered martyrdom, and who, having been faithful unto death, were believed to have inherited a crown of life.

The day of their death was called their birthday, as being the day of their entrance on a new life of everlasting happiness. Thus Tertullian, (who wrote about the year 200) says, "once a year we make offerings for the deceased, for their birthdays;" and Eusebius (A. D. 325) mentions the celebration with joy and gladness of Polycarp's birthday of martyrdom. St. Polycarp suffered in the first century.

It has been the opinion of many pious and learned persons in all ages of the Church, that the dead who have lived in the Lord, and who rest in peace from their labours, have not yet attained to the degree of glory of which they shall be made partakers in the resurrection, when their souls and bodies shall be united in immortality. And consequently it has been thought that when the Church prays for the accomplishment of the number of the elect, and the hastening of God's kingdom of glory, the souls of the faithful that are even now in joy and felicity with God, are interested in her petitions. In such a sense only did the early Church pray for the dead; but her practice, whatever view be taken of it, had nothing to do with purgatory, or with the idea that sins may be forgiven or purged away after death.

The principal writings of St. Patrick, above mentioned, are considered his genuine works by all Roman Catholics and by the most learned Protestant writers, including Archbishop Usher, and Sir H. Spelman; and indeed their purity of doctrine, and freedom from the multiplicity of miraculous and absurd legends, in which later writers have so much indulged, is a strong evidence of their genuineness. Had they been forgeries of after times, invented by Romanists, we should, no doubt, have found them as full as other documents of the like character, of arguments of every sort in support of the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome, as to whom, in no passage in the

writings of St. Patrick, is there any thing we can collect to shew that he was looked upon as the supreme head of the whole Christian Church.

"There is," says Dr. Keating, "an author, one Sanders, whose legendary writings have ever been rejected by the lovers of truth, that has the confidence to assert, in his first book of the English Wars, that as soon as the Irish had received the Christian faith, they submitted themselves, their consciences and estates, to the management and direction of the Pope of Rome, and that they acknowledge no other sovereign or prince in that kingdom but the Romish Pontiff, from the first establishment of Christianity in the island, till it fell into the hands of the English, under King Henry II. His expression is this: 'The inhabitants of Ireland, immediately on embracing the Christian faith, surrendered themselves, their estates, and fortunes, under the dominion of the Pope of Rome, nor did they own any other supreme prince in that kingdom, besides the Roman Pontiff, down to that time.' But the falsehood of this assertion is evident from the testimony of that ancient record, the Psalter of Cashel, which, speaking of the prophet Irial, a renowned monarch of Ireland, and a son to Heremon, relates, that many of that illustrious line filled the throne, both before and for many ages after Christianity was received in that kingdom. His words upon this occasion are these: 'Irial the prophet reigned ten years; and before the faith of Christ was propagated in Ireland by St. Patrick, there were fifty-seven kings of his race, who governed that kingdom; and after the time of St. Patrick, there were fifty kings in succession of the same family.' And this account is consistent with the ancient records of the kingdom, which take no notice of subjection to the See of Rome, but mention in the royal tables, a succession of princes of the royal Irish

blood, and that the island was governed independently by its own kings."

In the Quarterly Review, No. 152, we are told that "Mr. Petrie, the author of the able work upon the 'Round Towers of Ireland,' was visiting, as a tourist, the ruins of Clonmacnoise, once the richest bishopric, the grandest monastic establishment, the most celebrated royal burial-place in Ireland, now a barren dreary desert on the banks of the solitary Shannon. He was climbing a stile, over which he was obliged to ascend and descend by a flight of seven or eight steps. To his surprise he found that they were formed of stones inscribed in the Irish character. He passed into the adjoining grave-yard, thickly strewed with tombs, lying like corpses round the ruins of its ancient churches, its exquisitely sculptured crosses, and its two ghost-like round towers; and still there met him on every side the same inscribed stones. He collected from that one spot no less than three hundred epitaphs in the Irish language. He catalogued the names, and then turned to Archdale's Chronicle of that Abbey, and found that these stones were the tombs of the very men there recorded as among the most eminent ecclesiastics in Ireland, from the seventh century downward."

"It has been sometimes questioned by antiquaries whether or not St. Patrick really had any nephews, and whether they came, as it is hinted, from Gaul. There is, indeed, mentioned in the Lives of St. Patrick, one nephew, a Gaul of the name of Lugnath or Lugnaden, whose mother was named Liemania, and the names occur no where else among all the innumerable catalogues of saints. He was located in the neighbourhood of Lough Corrib, on an island still called 'the Island of the Devout Foreigner,' close to a church, the foundation of which popular tradition at this day assigns to the age of St. Patrick, and the

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ruins of which still remain and bear his name; and upon this island, at a little distance in front of the church, an antiquarian, in 1820, stumbled on a stone—an upright pillar of dark limestone, about four feet high—with the following inscription, in characters apparently of the earliest Christian antiquity to be found in Ireland:—'Lie Lugnædon mace Lemenueth,' (the stone of Lugnædon, son of Lemnueth)."

"During the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, a party who were examining the hill of Aileach, in the County of Derry, found on the summit of it the remains of a large fortification, formed of concentric circles of walls, now mouldered and covered with grass, and intersected by a broad level passing from the foot of the hill to the gateway of a keep or central inclosure. What was the nature and meaning of this? Their attention was directed to the 'Dinn Searchus,' a manuscript originally of the sixth century, and in its present interpolated form certainly not later than the tenth century, and in this they found the place delineated with the greatest accuracy—its green banks described as walls, and the level as the road of horses, and the locality marked as the celebrated palace of the kings of the north half of Ireland down to the twelfth century."

We have already noticed the remains of Tara; but "these few instances may be sufficient to indicate two of the remarkable trains of evidence, one derived from manuscript, and the other from monumental remains still existing, which may be brought to bear upon the early history of Ireland, and the chief value of which consists in their mutual and independent confirmation of each other. But there is a third, of very considerable value, and the weight of which can scarcely be appreciated by an English reader—it is the uninterrupted chain of popular tradition. In England we possess no such literary records

of the contemporary period of English history, because England, at that time, was in darkness, while Ireland was in light. By this popular tradition the strongest confirmation is given to the minute accuracy of the manuscript documents, coming as they did originally from a regularly authorized class and profession of writers, attached to each monarchy, and family, and monastery. Let us give an instance. In the pedigree of the O'Brien family, preserved in all the ancient genealogical books of Ireland, there occurs the name of Brecan, who is described as an ecclesiastic and a distinguished saint, and the first Bishop of Ardbrackan: and it is stated that he died in the island of Aran. He was the second son of Eochaidh Balldearg, King of Thomond, who was baptized by St. Patrick at Saingel, now Singland, near Limerick, and was the direct ancestor of the illustrious family of the O'Briens. Here is the statement of the manuscript; now follows the popular tradition. At the present day, in the island of Aran, there is a group of seven churches, in the midst of which there is an enclosure of a circular form, which is known by the name of St. Brecan's tomb, and is held in the greatest veneration by the natives, who cherish his memory, honour his anniversary, and recognise him as the tutelar saint of one-half of the island. Now follows the monumental evidence. About 1800 the tomb is opened to receive the remains of a distinguished and popular ecclesiastic, who left a dying request that he might be buried in it; and in the interior is found a small round stone, with an inscription, which those who preserved it did not understand. The stone is now in Mr. Petrie's possession. The inscription is in the Irish character and language; and the translation of it is 'A prayer for Brecan the pilgrim.' Mr. Petrie obtains leave in 1820 to re-open the tomb, and he finds, at the depth of six feet, the original

stone which covered the grave, inscribed with the words 'Capiti Brechani'—'over the head, or the headstone of Brecan:' perhaps a singular corroboration of the fact mentioned by Colgan, that it was not unusual at that period to bury bodies in an upright posture. And this last supposition is still further confirmed by the size and shape of the stone itself, which could not have covered a recumbent figure."

"An antiquarian, (and the case is but one out of many) extracts from manuscript records the pedigree of one of the oldest regal families of Ireland: by these he is enabled to trace up this family, from son to father, from the time of Queen Anne to the fourth century. He can even fix the year of the death of every father, and, what is more, of every mother, in the chain. He desires to prosecute the inquiry farther, and bring down the pedigree to the present day. He inquires in the neighbourhood where the family property lay, and is then told that a poor woman, in a country town at a distance, is the lineal representative of the family. He ascertains her residence, finds her in a cabin surrounded by poverty, but with superior manners. By the fire, stirring something in a pipkin, is sitting a young man, with the marks of high blood in his manner and appearance, but dying in a consumption, and apparently pained and offended at the intrusion. The stranger makes his inquiry, and learns from the female that she is the representative of this regal family; that the young man is her son. She gives her visitor the whole pedigree of her family back from that day to the time of Queen Anne, and ten or twelve degrees beyond it, which degrees exactly tally with those in the records, although those records can never have been seen by the informant."

Mr. Petrie, in illustrating the nature of the evidence by

which the ancient history of Ireland and his researches may be best tested, and when he comes to the ecclesiastical remains of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and following centuries, down to the twelfth, (and there are still to be seen in Ireland at this day, as he asserts, authenticated remains of churches—humble, indeed, and simple even to rudeness, but of the deepest interest—anterior to the eighth century, to the number of, perhaps, several hundreds) thus proceeds:—"These churches, in their general form, preserve very nearly that of the Roman basilica, and they are even called by this name in the oldest writers; but they never present the couched semicircular absis at the east end, which is so usual a feature in the Roman churches, and the smaller churches are only simple oblong quadrangles. In addition to this quadrangle, the larger churches present a second oblong of smaller dimensions, extending to the east, and constituting the chancel or sanctuary, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semicircular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been ever glazed . . . . The windows are frequently triangular-headed, but more usually arched semicircularly, while the doorway, on the contrary, is almost universally covered by a horizontal lintel, consisting of a single stone. In all cases the sides of the doorways and windows incline, like the doorways in the oldest remains of Cyclopean buildings, to which they bear a singularly striking resemblance . . . . In the smaller churches the roofs are frequently formed of stone, but in the larger ones were always of wood, covered with shingles, straw, reeds, and, perhaps, sometimes with lead . . . . ."

We wish to avoid what is merely conjectural; but,

"there are still in existence the great cemeteries appropriated to the interment of the princes of the different races, who ruled as sole monarchs, or provincial kings. And such cemeteries were well known to the people in Christian times, and in one or two instances the localities have been consecrated to the service of Christianity. The authority for this is to be found in one of the most celebrated Irish manuscripts, the 'Leabhar nah Uidhre,' a work compiled at Clonmacnoise, and transcribed by a distinguished writer of that great abode of learning in the twelfth century . . . . From this and other documents we know not only the use of these localities, but the very names of the persons buried in them: and when we wonder that no articles of value are found in some of them, as in the magnificent mounds on the Boyne at Drogheda, Dowth, Knowth, and New Grange; this, also, the manuscripts enable us to explain, for they tell us that these very sepulchres were opened and plundered by the Danes in the year 862."

Deeply interesting as these matters are, we must refrain from following Mr. Petrie farther at present, and from noticing not only what are proved by manuscripts to be relics of St. Patrick, but also the account with which he has favoured us of the heremetical establishment, founded by St. Fechin, (a saint of the seventh century) in the island of Ardoilen; for we must now proceed to describe, somewhat minutely, the monastic and other remains still to be seen in the vale of Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow, founded by St. Kevin, whose history, like that of St. Patrick, has only been handed down to us in a very unsatisfactory manner; but before doing so, we must cursorily speak of St. Senanus, and the ruins still to be seen in the island of Inniscattery at the mouth of the Shannon. This island is styled in an old Irish manuscript, called

The Book of Ballimote, "the wonder of Ireland." According to tradition, in it St. Senanus took up his abode, with the determination to exclude all "womankind" from its sacred precincts—even a lady of surpassing beauty, though guided to the isle by an angel, was resolutely refused admittance by the saint. It is asserted that eleven churches, (some of them must have been of most diminutive size or mere cells) were built in Inniscattery by St. Senanus. The remains of seven of them may still be traced. One of them is called the Cathedral, or St. Mary's Church; but the style of architecture adopted—the pointed—indicates that at least three of the buildings must have been erected long subsequent to the days of the ungallant saint. As supposed to be, of old, connected with the sanctity of Inniscattery, the only remarkable object remaining is the round tower, which is now, as it must for ages have been, an important land mark in the navigation of the Shannon. This tower measures about 120 feet in height, and springs from a base 22 feet only in circumference. As usual, it rears its lofty time-scathed and lightning-rent original roofed form, close to the cathedral; the interior of which has been cleared of its ruins, and is now used by the islanders as a *Ball-Court*. St. Senanus is said to have died in this island on the 1st of March, A. D. 544.

Glendalough, the ancient Glenade, and now commonly called the Seven Churches, is twenty-two miles from Dublin, and eleven from Wicklow. It is a stupendous natural excavation, about two miles and a half in extent, having lofty and precipitous mountains overhanging it on almost every side. The extremity of the glen is an extensive meadow, watered by a deep and clear rivulet. A very narrow road leads to what was called the city of Glendalough, at the distance of a mile from the entrance of the

glen; and farther on is the gloomy vale famed for being the retreat of St. Kevin or Coemgen, from the unceasing entreaties of the beautiful Cathlin, who is said to have been descended from an illustrious race, and endowed with rich domains. But beyond the reach of history to be much relied upon, Glendalough appears to have been a seat of learning, of religion, as well as of superstition; and in the transition of the Irish from Druidism to Christianity, it is not to be supposed that knowledge or learning was to be lost, though the Druids were no longer teachers; nor, is it to be expected, that all idolatrous practices, would be at once abandoned by the people. As soon as the Druids were expelled from their colleges, groves, and *high places*, upon which most of their magical arts or religious ceremonies were performed, and where they had also long held courts of justice, the new Christians evidently took possession of them for their religious purposes: indeed, some of our greatest sages of the present day, in the liberal views they take of men's actions, conceive that the early propagators of Christianity in Ireland were too wise, too good judges of human nature, to expect that men could be induced all at once, and without the possibility of relapse, to abandon forms, to desert, perhaps to destroy, fanes hallowed to them, however mistakingly, by a thousand endearing associations: instead, therefore, of insisting upon, or attempting to accomplish anything of the kind, they retained the place of worship, while they changed the object of adoration. Hence—add these sages—we see the Christian Church, and the symbol of atonement reared beside the tower of the Guebre. The fane of Baal become the temple of Jehovah. The Milcom of the Ammonite, the Ashtoreth of the Sidonian, give place to the St. Columb and the Madonna of the Roman Catholic; and for many ages the sacred fire of the Druids

continued to burn unquenched for a Christian vestal in St. Bridget of Kildare! The change extended from the hill and the altar, to the valley and the fountain, and the poor devotee who tells his beads at the holy well of Fahan, or of Malin, little dreams that his pagan ancestor held the same spring in equal reverence, under a different name and tutelage.

In many instances in Ireland, in Scotland, and in other countries, this change took place; when each Christian pastor ascended the *Mount* to read the *Scriptures*, and preach to the people in the presence of the Lord, as did more anciently the expounders of the laws in almost all nations. In Ireland, the Brehon Judges always sat in the open air, in order that magicians might have the less power over them and their decisions. A short distance from the road leading from the town of Killiney to Bray, by Shankhill, there stands, to this day, a chair formed of stones, (large blocks of granite), which is called, "*The Druids' Judgment Seat.*" Churches were thus, in many instances, and in the course of time, built where Druid altars stood. Age after age passed away; yet so deeply rooted was the opinion in the minds of the people, that supplications to the Deity could not be made in any place so appropriately as from an eminence in the open air, that down even to the close of the eighteenth century, a numerous sect existed in the south of Scotland, called *Hill Folks*, from their assembling on the hills to perform their devotional exercises, after the manner of their forefathers, under no canopy but that spread out by the hand of nature.

There also exist in Ireland to this day numerous traces of the Druid worship—in the cromleachs, the pillar stones, and other relics of the Druidical ritual, to be found in every part of the country. The names of places retain vestiges of the ancient idolatry. Many of the mountains,

as well as the remains of art, bear names, signifying their connexion with the worship of the sun and moon. Among the most remarkable of these mountains or hills, we may instance the Moat of Granard (or Grian-ard, the eminence of the sun) in Longford; and Greenmount (or Grian-mont the mount of the sun) in Louth: the latter of which, situated as it is, closely adjoining the most frequented road in Ireland, is passed daily, hourly, by travellers and tourists, without exciting an observation. Colonel Blacker, to whom we are indebted for the above remark, further says,—the virtuoso who will "compass sea and land" to see a few mouldering pillars, once sacred to Jupiter and Minerva, traverses the great Belfast road, wholly unconscious that he is passing almost within the shadow of one of the most perfect remains of Pagan sun-worship, which this, or perhaps any other country in Europe exhibits. But both of these, as well as others of a minor description, are mounds (stupendous ones certainly) of earth. Any that are of stone are, in point of architectural pretension, little beyond the ordinary cairn; nor do they appear to aim at a higher designation. One of the principal exists in Antrim, at no great distance from Temple Patrick, and is known by the name of "Cairn Graney," or "the cairn of the sun."

Like the Persians, the Pagan Irish offered divine honours to fire, and they reverenced water also. Mr. Moore gives it as his opinion—and we in this coincide with him—"that the first preachers of Christianity took advantage of these feelings of the Irish, and that without hurting their prejudices, they endeavoured to connect the truths of the new religion, with their respect for the emblems of the old." To this regard of the early Missionaries to the religious feelings of the Irish, he attributes the unexampled circumstance, that not one drop of martyr blood was shed in

Ireland, during the entire course of that great revolution, the adoption by a whole people of a new creed. The festivals of the heathen superstition became the celebration of the Christian worship; the Pagan feast at the vernal equinox coincided with the sacrifice of Easter, and the fires of the summer solstice are continued to the present day in commemoration of the eve of St. John. At every step, the transition to a new faith was smoothed by such coincidences or adoptions. The convert saw in the baptismal font, wherein he was immersed, the sacred well at which his fathers had worshipped. The Druidical stone on the "high places," bore rudely graved upon it, the name of the Redeemer; and it was in general by the side of those ancient pillar-towers, whose origin was even then, perhaps, a mystery, that, in order to share in the solemn feelings which they inspired, the Christian temples arose. With the same view, the *Sacred Grove* was anew consecrated to religion, and the word dair, or oak, so often combined with the names of Churches in Ireland, sufficiently marks the favourite haunts of the idolatry which they superseded. In some instances, the accustomed objects of former worship were associated, even more intimately, with the new faith; and the order of Druidesses, as well as the idolatry which they practised, seemed to be revived, or rather continued, by the Nuns of St. Bridget, in their inextinguishable fire and miraculous oak at Kildare.

According to what is contained in the life of St. Patrick, St. Kevin was descended from an illustrious family, and was born in the year 498; was baptized by St. Cronan at the age of seven years; was placed under the tuition of Petrocus, a Briton, who is said to have studied for twenty years in Ireland. In the year 510, he was entrusted to the care of three learned men, with whom he remained three years. On leaving them, he became the pupil of

Beonanus, and afterwards of Bishop Lugid, who ordained him a priest. At the instigation of Lugid, he entered a seminary or monastery at Cluainduach, where he remained several years. He is also said to have visited St. Congal and St. Canice at Usmeach, in Meath, and was also received with great respect by St. Columba. He then visited St. Berchin, the blind prophet; and was at last persuaded by Garbham, a recluse who dwelt near Dublin, to put an end to his erratic life, and to take up his abode in the county Wicklow, "for that a bird could not cherish her eggs in her flight."

St. Kevin is said to have been the author of two works, one entitled "De Britannorum Origine;" the other "De Hiberæt Herimone;" and it is also probable that he was the author of a manuscript called "a rule for Monks," which we are told is preserved among Colgan's papers, in the archives of the Irish Franciscan Convent, at Louvain, in France.

In picturesque grandeur, in sublimity of outline, no scene in Wicklow can for an instant be put in competition with Glendalough, whether we consider the lofty, dark, and overhanging cliffs of Lugduff, which impart a similar colouring to the natural mirrors in which its beetling brow is reflected, or the extraordinary evidences of the antiquity and learning of the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland, to which the ruins of Glendalough (or the valley of the two loughs) bear testimony. The range of hills on the north of the glen, so far as the entrance to Glenasane, are the least important; beyond which is Comaderry. This mountain is a great mass, apparently projecting into the valley of the Churches, and separating it into two parts; the one called Glenasane, the other the glen of the Upper Lake; its summit is about 2,300 feet above the level of the sea, and 1,600 above the surface of the lakes. On the

south side of the glen, are the hills of Derrybawn and Lugduff; in the latter of which is what is called St. Kevin's bed, a natural excavation in the face of a perpendicular rock, about 100 feet above the surface of the lake. The gloomy, awe-inspiring, over-hanging cliff, in which the saint is said to have reposed, is truly, as a writer has observed, "emblematical of an abode where sadness never dies;" and from whence, it may be supposed, could only have emerged a mind-degrading superstition; it is, therefore, more likely to have been—at least originally—the mysterious retreat of a contemplative Druid, than that of an active-minded, learned, and useful apostle of primitive Christianity. The very nature and character of the surrounding scenery, seems to have invited the artful Druid priest, to practice, in this sequestered spot, upon the credulity and fears of a deluded people. In proof of this, these lakes were of old represented as having been infested by wolves and *serpents*, and as having often exhibited preternatural appearances. Upon Lough Ouler (see O'Sullivan's poem of "The haunted fire of Uller,") were seen, at stated periods, a lordly chieftain and his lady bright, riding in their chariot, enveloped in a burning cloud. Such a state of mind was peculiarly susceptible of superstitious impressions, and the sagacious monks, at a later period, were not neglectful of this advantage.

But we must now turn to what are thought by some, and may yet probably be proved to be, monuments of episcopal dignity, and to remains of a certain degree of civilization still existing. The first ruin on the roadside on the north of the glen, is now called the Ivy Church. It was a small chapel, at the end of which are the remains of one of those round towers, which fortunately became the objects of Mr. Petrie's interesting researches. At about a quarter of a mile from this, are the ruins of what

is called the city of Glendalough; the origin of which, and its celebrity as a seat of learning, are attributed to St. Mochuorog, a Briton, who, we are told, having heard of the fame of St. Kevin, and the miracles wrought by him, left his native country, and fixed his residence in a cell on the east side of Glendalough, where a city soon sprung up, and a seminary was founded, from which many saints and exemplary men were sent forth, whose sanctity and learning diffused throughout the western world, that universal light of letters and religion, which, in the earlier ages of Christianity, shone with so much brightness in this remote and, at that period, tranquil island, and was almost exclusively confined to it.

We have been forcibly struck by a remark in one of the old Irish chronicles respecting Glendalough; and we trust there will be found in the Irish manuscripts much more regarding it—that is, of its having been called "Episcopatus Insularum," (it is likewise so styled in a Bull of Pope Lucius III.) or "Bishopric of the Isles." May we not conjecture from this that St. Columba, who alone, as we shall see hereafter, had a right to the title of *Bishop of the Isles*, must have had something to say to the founding of this monastery, or rather seminary. It is well known that he founded many in Ireland; and though only styled abbot, yet we often read of his appointing bishops to the sees he established. It was, however, chiefly from *Hi*, or *Iona*, that, at that period, so many exemplary and useful men—mostly Irishmen—went forth, whose sanctity and learning diffused throughout the western world that universal light of letters and religion which, in the earlier ages of Christianity, shone with so much brightness. According to Colgan, Ireland was known as the "communis Europæ bonarum literarum officina, communeque ascetarum sacrarium;" and the Quarterly Review, from which we have

already taken the liberty of quoting, asserts—we presume on the authority of Mr. Petrie—that to Ireland, as a place of refuge, as a school of learning, as an abode of holy discipline, flocked crowds, by thirties, fifties, even by one hundred and fifties at a time, of Saxons, British, French, Italian, Roman, and Egyptian Christians. A remarkable proof of this—and it indicates the period alluded to—is found in the Litany of St. Aengus, the Caldee, in which are invoked numbers of foreign saints buried in Ireland. In the great island of Aran may still be seen the grave of the Seven Romans, with an inscription of the remotest Christian antiquity. In the town of Cell Belaigh there were the "seven streets inhabited by strangers;" in short, there is not a doubt that, to Ireland, but at a later period than the time of St. Kevin, there flocked for education, and instruction in Christianity, devout men from all parts of Europe. How then, allow us to ask, stood the Church of Rome, as compared by mankind with that of Ireland? And how melancholy *it is*, now-a-days, to see so many Irishmen subjected to all the innovations and corruptions of modern Romanism. But, may we not hope that some of the valuable old Irish manuscripts, when stripped of interpolations, and read as originally written, will shew what was the real nature of the Christianity so ably and learnedly upheld by Irish saints; and how far any of them, as fallible and erring mortals like ourselves, may have deviated from *Scriptures*, or from what may be considered commentaries upon them—the greater part of the writings of the inspired apostles. At all events, the Gospels appear to have been most carefully copied by some of the earliest Irish Christian writers, even by St. Patrick, and certainly by St. Columba. But to proceed.

A small paved space, of a quadrangular form, and now called the market-place, with the ground that, to some ex-

tent, surrounds it, indicate, according to tradition, where the city of Glendalough formerly stood.

The approach to where the ruins of the Seven Churches stand is by a succession of large stepping stones in the Glendasane river, in front of an arched gateway, about sixteen feet in length, and ten in breadth. The arches are about nine feet seven inches wide, and ten feet high.

The see of Glendalough was of old very extensive, reaching even to the walls of Dublin. Its cathedral is the most striking object in the glen. This edifice is said to have owed its origin to St. Kevin. The nave of the cathedral measures about fifty feet in length by thirty in width; but the original height of the walls (and we must here refer the reader to the size of the earliest Christian churches, as given by Mr. Petrie) cannot now be easily ascertained; it was lighted by three narrow windows in the southern wall. An arch of about nineteen feet in breadth opens into the choir, which is an area of about thirty-eight feet by twenty-five. The eastern window is enriched with chevron and other ornaments, and the mouldings are decorated with legendary sculpturing. The apertures, like those of Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall, by which the rays of light were admitted, are so narrow, that, in all likelihood, they were never glazed. On the frieze of broad moulding beside the arch of the great window a wolf-dog is represented holding a *serpent* in his mouth. According to tradition, during the building of the cathedral and churches, a large serpent was in the habit of emerging every night from the lake, and overthrowing the labours of the previous day, so that thus the cathedral would never have been finished. The sainted architect, however, employed a wolf-dog to seize the satanic enemy; and caused the transaction to be recorded in characters of stone. From this circumstance the lake is called "Loch-na-Piast,',

or the Lake of the *Serpent*. We may here remark, that it is surprising how many strange legends the Irish relate as connected with serpents; but we know of none which can equal the legend of the Friar's Lough, in the County of Tipperary, in which is kept down, "under a large pan, placed over it by the holy Friar till the day of judgment," a huge serpent, which, but for this precaution of the Friar, "*would have destroyed the entire island, along with its inhabitants.*" On another stone, in the same frieze, the saint is represented embracing his sacred willow; in the foliage of which an apple is to be seen. Respecting this apple-bearing willow, Romish tradition has it, that a young man, a near relative of St. Kevin, was afflicted by a deadly malady, while residing at Glendalough. It was in the month of March, when vegetation had just commenced, that the invalid became possessed with the notion that an apple would prove an effectual remedy for his disorder. The saint, on hearing this wish expressed, went out into the fields, and directing his attention to a willow, perceived it laden with ripe apples; plucking three of them without delay he presented them to his sickly relative, who from that moment became convalescent. This is something like the story told by Dr. Keating, in his History of Ireland, of a Druid and a willow.

According to another of these puerile traditionary tales connected with this Cathedral, we learn that the masons and labourers who were employed in the pious task of erecting this venerable structure, were observed by St. Kevin to be gradually losing that health and vigour which they appeared to have possessed at the commencement of their labours. Upon inquiry, it was found, that their hours of work were regulated by this maxim—"to rise with the lark, and lie down with the lamb;" now, the lark in the valley used to rise so unconscionably early, that the

labourers were insensibly led into insupportable hardships; to remove this evil the saint prayed that the lark might never be permitted to sing in the valley of Glendalough, which petition was accordingly granted;—"and certainly no lark is ever heard to sing there now." But to proceed with the description of the Cathedral. The door is seven feet four inches high, and is narrower at the top than bottom; the jambs are composed of blocks of granite, the entire depth of the wall, with a reveal at the inside of the door, which appears to have turned on pivots. Part of the building has the appearance of a much more modern style than the rest. This ought not to escape notice, for whatever puerilities may have been intended to be commemorated on the friezes, and other parts of these buildings, we cannot be made to believe, that they could possibly have been sanctioned by highly educated, enlightened, and scripturally taught men of God, such as St. Patrick, St. Kevin, and many other learned and pious Irishmen, their contemporaries and assistants in apostolical labours.

A seminary or monastery was, there seems to be little doubt, founded in Glendalough by St. Kevin, and other devout and enlightened Christians; and a city seems also to have been built there by a Briton; but, in those days, there were no religious differences subsisting betwixt the Irish and the Britons; they both professed *primitive, Scriptural Christianity,* as it had been taught by our Saviour's Apostles and their successors. In order, therefore, to come to a right conclusion as to the periods when the Cathedral, or parts of it, as well as when the Seven Churches were constructed, and by whom constructed, we must look not only to the style of architecture, and into the history of the ancient British Church, but also into that of Rome; and especially into that of the strenuous and

consistent opponent of the latter, planted, as we shall see, by an Irish prince at Hi, or Iona; and then we may endeavour to ascertain as to which of the three such childish absurdities as we find recorded in stone in Glendalough properly belong; and we shall be enabled to do this with much more certainty and profit, when we come to consider the life and doctrines of that evidently inspired apostle of the Gentiles, St. Columba.

Being anxious to conclude the description of the Cathedral and other ruins, we shall only add, that beneath a small window, to the south of the choir, there is a monumental slab of freestone, much ornamented, but without inscription. Near the Cathedral are to be seen the ruins of a small building, which some suppose was used as a sacristy, or place where the relics and religious vestments were kept In the confused heaps around these buildings there is a stone bearing three figures: that in the centre seems to represent a priest, on whose right hand is a person bearing a staff, and on the left another, holding out, what seems to be, a purse of money. Some suppose that it is emblematical of the doctrine of Purgatory; and if so, we may assign to this sculptured stone the date of the Council of Trent, or A. D. 1545, as prior to that period the doctrine of a Purgatory had not been broached by Romanists. Several remnants of crosses lie scattered up and down; the most remarkable of which is one standing in the cemetery of the Cathedral, eleven feet in height, and formed of one solid block of granite. Certain miraculous powers are attributed to this cross.

To the west of the Cathedral stood what is now called our Lady's Church: this could not have been an extensive structure originally; but, from the traces still discernable, it appears to have been built with more architectural taste

than the others. The door-way must have been well executed: in the lintel was wrought a cruciform ornament. The walls, as high up as the top of the door-way, are of hewn-stone, strongly cemented; the eastern window must have been like that of the Cathedral, but is now in ruins.

What is now, absurdly enough, called St. Kevin's kitchen, is still the most perfect of the Seven Churches; it is roofed with stone, and has a steeple at one end. At the eastern end, an arch opens a communication with a small chapel. The belfry, which rises from the west end of the church, is a round tower, about sixty feet in height. The roof of the church, which is still perfect and very curious, is composed of thin stones or flags, neatly laid, and with a very high pitch. A kind of groove in the east end of the larger building, proves, indisputably, that the smaller buildings are not coeval with it; the latter are higher and narrower, and are quite inferior in point of architectural perfection to the former.

The river, flowing from the upper lake, divides St. Kevin's kitchen from the Rhefeart Church. Near the bank of the rivulet a stone is pointed out, called the Deer-stone, as also a number of large stones, like loaves of bread, about both of which legends are related; and connected with which St. Kevin is said to have performed miracles. Rhefeart, the name given to this church, signifies the sepulchre of kings; and, it is said, that seven of the family of Mac Thuhal, or O'Toole, of old kings of this part of Ireland, lie buried there.

Beneath the dark and frowning cliff of Lugduff, on a little patch of arable land, almost inaccessible except by water, are the ruins of a church called Teampul-na-skellig, *i. e.*, the Temple of the Desert or Rock; it is also called the Priory of the Rock, and St. Kevin's Cell: here, it is

said, the sainted Kevin used to seclude himself from the world in the season of Lent, and spent his whole time in penitence and prayer. The poor people are still made to believe that it was at a window of the cell, while in a supplicating attitude, and with one hand extended, that a blackbird descended and dropped her eggs in St. Kevin's hand: tradition has it, that the saint—kind soul—never altered the position of his hand or arm until the poor creature had hatched her eggs in it; which is the reason that St. Kevin is always represented with an outstretched hand, and a bird perched upon it. Near the Rhefeart church there is a heap of stones, round which deluded Romanists perform their appointed penances — usually upon their *bare knees;* and among the remnants of crosses is to be seen one with a circular aperture in it, and the deluded people are made to believe, that if they insert an arm into this aperture, and turn it round three times, they will obtain absolution and regeneration at the same time!

Is it not strange, as well as melancholy, to think that so shrewd a people as the Irish should still be kept in this, the nineteenth century, by their priests, many of them little better educated than themselves, in such a state of ignorance and thraldom; but, is it not much more so, as well as astonishing, to find that Romanism is once more gaining ground in Protestant England? and that even noblemen and gentlemen, British subjects, who, we ought to suppose, had been soundly and, according to their station in life, suitably educated and enlightened, should be weak enough to allow themselves to be deceived, as to the modern mode of saint making? But, is it also possible that, in such countries as France and Germany, the silly and iniquitous doings connected with the wonderful *relic* preserved at Treves, should be tolerated, *i. e. the seamless*

coat of Jesus Christ, for which the Roman soldiers cast lots, lately found in the possession of the Chapter of Treves, who, from the 18th of August, 1844, we believe, to the present time, has been most profitably exposing it to the veneration of the faithful. Immense crowds of people from all quarters flocked to see it; the steam-boats on the Moselle where choked with devotees, as well as with what we may call pilgrims, attracted as much by curiosity as by devotion. In this once more behold the influence which the Roman Catholic clergy, like the Druids of old, exercise over the people of whom they have the direction and care, of whose souls they shall yet have to give an account to God. Thus they summon, by every means in their power, an unintellectual multitude to bow down to a *relic*, of which, according to their own avowal, the genuineness is doubtful; they load with chaplets, medals, and scapularies the silly people whom they drag after them; they grant to them at the close of this fictitious and profane gratification, a *plenary indulgence*, and thus lead through the darkness of error those whom they ought to guide by the light of the Gospel. The most monstrous part of the affair is, that the authenticity of the coat, by the avowal of the author of a book, written upon the subject, and approved of by the Bishop,* is not established. At page 2, in his introduction, he says that, "at the close of the fifth century, the tradition about the 'holy coat' all but entirely disappeared. The town of Treves was ravaged, and overthrown by invasions which lasted a considerable

* Since the above was written, we find that Dr. Arnoldi, the Archbishop of Treves, so famous for his part in this "holy coat" affair, has addressed a circular to all the ecclesiastics of his diocese, recommending them, in the most pressing terms, to employ all their influence to discourage the faithful from further pilgrimages to Treves, and stating that such demonstrations, far from being acts of piety, were rather prompted by vanity, savouring of superstition.

time. After the ninth century the coat reappeared. According to tradition, St. Helena, mother of Constantine, brought it back from the Holy Land among other relics;" but, adds the author with apparent simplicity, "with respect to evidence, we cannot find any by the means of historical proofs. In his researches, respecting the remote times which tradition assigns as the period when the holy relic arrived within our walls, the author has often regretted his not being able to meet with testimony which is quite satisfactory. He cannot challenge a full and entire certitude. He addresses himself in a friendly spirit to the faith of the faithful, which rests upon tradition, expecting their piety to supply the deficiency." Little did these infatuated priests dream of what would be the consequences of such a puerile attempt to revive a long dormant imposition—this, along with their vices, rapacity, and no longer possible to be concealed corruptions, has tended much towards the Reformation now rapidly progressing in Germany and in France. Let the Spaniards, also, whom we hope soon to see following the same example, look to the Cathedrals of Seville and Toledo; the latter alone has 600 persons connected one way or another with it, either as canons, minor canons, priests, choristers, singers, bell ringers, &c. In it are the following *most important articles*—a chemise of St. Cecilia, the handkerchief of Magdalen, the petticoat of the Virgin, &c. It is not merely the precious metals and the rarest stones, as a writer asserts, that are there rendered tributary to the uses of the altar, for wood and worsted, carved oak and Gobelin tapestry, carpets, and tables of lapis lazuli and malachite are all dedicated to the service of the Virgin, with pearls, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and diamonds of the greatest value! We have reluctantly, yet unavoidably, touched upon such matters; but, in our researches among these curious relics of antiquity, it be-

came impossible for us to remain unmoved by the deep feeling of awe that insensibly stole over us, proceeding from a conviction that an all-merciful God had, in days long past, looked with pity and forbearance upon the beings who had dared—we trust in ignorance of what they were doing—to engraft, as it were, superstitions and the use of vain emblems, as well as of childish observances, upon the simple but spiritual worship which he exacts from us in *His Holy Word.* But mankind have ever been, and still are prone to add to or take away from what God has commanded; as if they, poor fallible creatures, were capable of counselling or assisting their Maker, and All-wise and Omnipotent Preserver! But to proceed.

The most important of the churches in Glendalough is that called the Abbey; and which, like the Cathedral, was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. St. Kevin's Well lies near the path-way leading from the Rhefeart Church to the Abbey. The Abbey appears to have been the most masterly specimen of the art of building among these architectural remains. It originally consisted of two buildings parallel to each other, and of curious workmanship; the eastern window was ornamented with rich sculpture; several of the carved stones were removed and used as key-stones for the arches of Derrybawn Bridge; but some very curious devices are still to be seen: on one is an enraged wolf, with his tail in his mouth, the whole figure within a triangle. This is supposed to have some reference to the Trinity, which is also illustrated by the trefoil or shamrock by St. Patrick. On another stone two ravens are represented picking at a skull. Runic knots may be discovered on several stones. On one is seen a wolf, the tail of which is entwined in the hair of a man's head; and other wolves, or rather wild beasts in general, are represented devouring human heads, all evidently

emblems of mortality. These specimens are, we believe, quite unique in Ireland; and if with this we couple the circumstance of the tomb of St. Kevin, who died in 618, which is said to have been found in a small crypt or oratory near the Abbey, we may be disposed to attribute a greater antiquity to part of this building than to any of the others, which have but little, as we imagine, in or about them, to shew they had been erected prior to the introduction of Popery into Ireland.

This is the last of the Churches; but there is in Glendalough, another monument of antiquity not yet noticed—that is to say, a Round Tower, fully 110 feet in height. There are, at least, seventy others in various parts of Ireland; and there is one of nearly a similar description, within the walls of Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man; built upon what was of old called St. Patrick's Isle, now joined to the main-land by a kind of causeway. This tower stands at a short distance from St. Germain's Cathedral, and other ruinous buildings; one of them a small church dedicated to St. Patrick; but any thing more grand and imposing than the sea, during a westerly gale, raging and breaking around and against the rocks on which the Castle stands, cannot well be conceived—the foam and spray, from the gigantic, and seemingly overwhelming waves, fly in dense flakes and showers over the whole of the Castle, and even far above the lofty tower; but why it should have been erected there, and, like that in Glendalough and elsewhere, close to a number of monastic remains, it would have been impossible to tell, had it not been for Mr. Petrie's researches. There—adopting, in some measure, the language and ideas of an elegant writer—they stand, tall, cylindrical piles, too small for habitations, too simple for ornament, too vast for mere appendages to the little buildings that usually surround them; too uniform

in construction to be accidental caprices of taste, and yet too varied to be reduced under one age—rising up as they often do, as at Glendalough, among the bleakest mountains, by a gloomy lake, or on some desolate island, where they always produce a singular effect of mysterious ghost-like grandeur—far beyond any composition of the most elaborate architecture. Mr. Petrie however—we confess to our disappointment—tells us, that these towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. That they were designed to answer, at least, a twofold use, namely, to serve as belfries, and as keeps, or places of strength in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics, to whom they belonged, could retire in security in cases of sudden predatory attack. That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons and watch-towers. These conclusions, Mr. Petrie adds, are corroborated by the uniform and concurrent tradition of the country, and, above all, by authentic evidences which can be produced as to the erection of several of the towers, with the names and eras of their founders, as well as the prices paid for their construction. In spite of all this, we cannot give up the idea which we have long entertained, that the most ancient of them must have in some way been connected with Druidism.—The Cathedral in Peel Castle is dedicated to St. Germain; and it is the received opinion that he succeeded St. Patrick in the Episcopal See, when he returned to Ireland in the year 447; though the bishopric of Sodor, according to Romish writers, was not constituted till A.D. 838, by Pope Gregory IV.; yet, there is ample proof, that two centuries prior to that period, the bishops were styled, "Bishop of Sodor and Man."

According to several writers, St. Patrick, when on a voyage from Liverpool to Ireland, in the year 444, accompanied by thirty religious persons, was in a violent tempest cast on shore at a place which still bears his name. He found the people still adhering so much to the Druidical or Pagan worship, and so much addicted to practising the magical art, that he was induced to remain among them three years. During which time, by his unceasing labours, his powerful eloquence, and the astonishing miracles he wrought, he so convinced the inhabitants of the truth of Christianity, as to leave little doubt in his mind of their sincerity. St. Patrick is said to have driven the famous Mannon Beg-Mac-y-Leirr from the island; who, according to the Irish Chronicles, was slain at Mogeullion in the county of Galway; and, according to tradition, St. Patrick delivered the Isle of Man from three plagues—venemous *serpents*, magicians, and invisible devils. Joceline, in his life of St. Patrick, tells us, that, this Melinus, (or Mac Lea as he calls him) in his magical arts, emulated Simon Magus, and aspired to the reputation of a god, and did fly in the air; but, he came down fluttering at the prayers of St. Patrick; who, obtaining fire from heaven, consumed nine wizards, clothed in white vestments, feigning themselves to be saints."

Peel Castle, Isle of Man, exhibits specimens of various orders of architecture, in some instances, like what is to be met with, according to Mr. Petrie, in Ireland. Within its walls, there are fully five acres of land, of which the greater part is covered with ruins of one kind or another. No account is handed down to us of its origin; but it evidently must have been a place of great strength at a very remote period—may we venture to say—long before Christianity dawned upon the world. It was afterwards of great importance, when the Isle of Man became the seat of government

of the semi-barbarous *sea kings*, or rather viceroys of the kings of Norway.

It may be here remarked, that the only remains of early Christian architecture worthy of notice in the Isle of Man, are the ruins of Rushen Abbey, respecting which Hollinshed—without giving dates—says, that when the heathen temple of Rushen was overthrown, a temple dedicated to the Virgin Mary was erected on its site. This heathen temple is supposed to have been constructed by the Romans, at the period when they occupied military stations in Galloway, Anglesea, and the northern shores of England. When the first St. Mary's Church of Rushen was taken down, in 1698, the altar, originally erected to Jupiter, with a much obliterated inscription upon it, was found and removed to the old House of Keys, and at a subsequent period placed in a niche in the wall of Castle Rushen; but was afterwards removed to the garden at Lorne House, adjoining Castletown. But it is an historical fact, that most of the monasteries were founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A general belief prevailing throughout Christendom that the world was to be destroyed at the end of the prophetic period of twelve hundred and sixty years from the birth of Christ; the consequence was, that large secular possessions were made over in all countries to *The Church*, for the erection, enlargement, embellishment, and endowment of religious establishments, thereby to secure the favour of heaven in such an emergency; and according to the fashion of the day, we find that Olave, king of Man, granted the then Abbey of Rushen to Evan, abbot of Furness, to serve as a nursery to the Manx Church; hence it was that the Abbots of Furness held the appointment of Abbot of Rushen also, and to which were attached considerable revenues.

But to return to the still venerated Glendalough. We

are told that it was the intention of St. Kevin, to have built his Abbey in the enchanting valley of Luggelaw, on the margin of Lough Tay; but that the repeated visits of the lovely Cathleen, while he sojourned there, induced him to remove to where he might be freed from her importunities; and he ultimately decided upon Glendalough. After, however, establishing there his religious seminaries, and supposing himself at rest for the remainder of his mortal career, the still unhappy Cathleen renewed her visits. Determined to avoid the temptations of so much innocence and fidelity in one so fair, and to spare her feelings, the saint withdrew to his stony couch, in the almost inaccessible face of Lugduff. Day after day, Cathleen visited the wonted haunts of her beloved Kevin; but he was no where to be found. One morning, as the disconsolate fair was slowly moving along the church-yard path, the favourite dog of St. Kevin met and fawned upon her; and turning swiftly, led the way to his master's sequestered home. Here follows, to say the least of it, the most uncharitable part of the saint's conduct—for, awaking, and perceiving a female leaning over him, "*although there was heaven in her eye,*" he hurled her from the beetling rock!—The next morning, the unfortunate Cathleen, whose unceasing affection seems to have merited a better fate than the Roman Catholic historian assigns her, (as, in those days, priests had not been prohibited from marrying), was seen, for a moment, on the margin of the lake, wringing her flowing locks; but never was heard of more! The poetic imagination of another writer, concludes the legend with the following passage,—the saint being supposed to have relented after he had thrown Cathleen into the lake:—

"Fervent he prayed that heaven would save
The maid from an untimely grave;—

His prayer half granted; like the mist of morn,
Her floating form, along the surface borne,
Shone bright, then faded in the dawning ray,
To light converted from his gaze away."

This tale is the subject of Moore's Melody, beginning with the words—"By that lake whose gloomy shore"—but the poet forgets to tell us what became of poor Cathleen; for it ought not to be supposed, that she had been *drowned by the saint*—at least, it was a most unsaint-like act.

According to Irish annals, St. Kevin lived to the age of 120 years, having died on the 3rd of June, 618,—and let Romanists mark this—previously receiving the *Sacrament from the hands of Mochnaus, a Briton,* and consequently not according to the modern rites of the Church of Rome at all events, the doctrine of transubstantiation had certainly no existence in it, until the Lateran Council, A. D. 1215; and, do we not find it recorded, that the ancient British Church—*one if not two years older than that of Rome*—had long, steadily, and consistently resisted the encroachments of the Roman Pontiffs, as well as their attempts to introduce such sinful novelties into the Church of Christ? In the fourth century occurs Jerome's celebrated testimony to the sufficiency of the British Church as to salvation, and its independence, with those of Gaul and Africa, as parts of one *Catholic or Universal Church.* The well known Synod of Llandewy Brefi, under David their Metropolitan, took place in the sixth century. The Bishops and Clergy of the British Church continued their protest against Popery from the year 590 to 1115, a period of 525 years, and would hold no communion whatever with the Papal Saxon Church, on account of its idolatrous and corrupt practices. Thus, St. Kevin having received, just before his death, the Sacrament from a Briton, seems,

at least to us, to prove, beyond a doubt, that neither he, nor St. Patrick, nor any of their Irish contemporaries, could possibly have belonged to any other than the *ancient British Church*, or else to then equally independent *Church of Ireland;* as will more distinctly appear, as we proceed with the truly interesting life of St. Columba.

The following is a good description of the impressions almost invariably produced upon the mind by the scenery of Glendalough:—"I certainly did feel strongly impressed with the scene around, and entered into abstracted communion with 'genius loci;' and my imagination had Cœmgen, and Moliba, and Aidan, and their successors, Malachy and Lawrence O'Toole, passing before me, and mourning over their sanctuary, their mountain retreat for ascetic contemplation, now trodden under foot by the ruthless spoiler, and become curious for its desert loneliness, and hoary desolation—where the carrion crow croaks hoarsely from the briared chapelry, where she has made her nest—and where the fox, the martin, and the wild cat now find their hiding places.—Such were the imaginings that came thick upon me, as I walked across the church-yard of Glendalough. And after all, they were unfounded fancies I was then possessed of. For it was not the work of the Reformation to cause these ruins—it was not the Church spoiler of Henry or Elizabeth's day—nor yet the curse of Cromwell, that swept all here into desolation; as we have the best authority for supposing, that long before the changes brought about by Protestantism, or even before the suppression of monasteries, this place had become a ruined and deserted scene. An Archbishop of Tuam, cited by Ware, writing 616 years ago, mentions that this place, though from ancient times it was held in great veneration, on account of St. Kevin, had now become so deserted and

desolate, that instead of being a retreat for churchmen, it had become a den of robbers, and the resort of thieves—so much so, that more homicides and crimes are committed in this valley than in any other place in Ireland."

SECTION III.

" You see the man; you see his hold on heav'n;
If sound his virtue . . . . . .
Heav'n waits not the last moment; owns her friends
On this side death; and points them out to men,
A lecture, silent, but of sov'reign pow'r!"—YOUNG.

WE ought in the present day, and particularly in the present state of the Church of Christ, to be truly grateful to Divine Providence, that, while the accounts of St. Patrick and St. Kevin, have been handed down to us in so unsatisfactory a manner, not only complete lives, but also faithful accounts of the doctrines and religious practices of St. Columba, have reached us in a way so surprisingly perfect, and bearing so many marks of truth, that no one can consistently question their authenticity. But, is it not unaccountably strange, that, for so many years past, Christians in general; but especially British and Irish Christians, should not have been more anxious to inquire, as to what were really the doctrines and practices which Columba, his princely and noble associates in apostolic labours, and their successors at Iona, taught the ancestors of many of us. Ecclesiastical history, and particularly that of it which is evidently true or genuine, has been far too much neglected by mankind in general, who have been always much more ready to listen to accounts of wars and warriors, and the effects of their ambitious selfishness or rapacity, than to what is told us in such history, or in the *word of God?*

We find that the two best lives of St. Columba, the apostle—as he was usually styled—of the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, and the founder and first Abbot of the famous monastery or seminary of Iona, was written

by two of his successors, Cummin and Adomnan. The former of these wrote about sixty, and the latter about eighty-three years after the death of the Saint; so that they had excellent opportunities of arriving at a perfect knowledge of his life and character. But it seems not to have been the sole object of these good men, to delineate the real life and character of Columba, but to give also what was probably more suitable to the times in which they lived, marvellous details of visions, prophecies, and miracles, which they boldly ascribe to him; and, it is but fair to suppose that they themselves believed what they wrote. It is therefore necessary, in order that we may peruse the life of this great and holy man, with profit, that we should, in some measure, strip it of that marvellous garb, with which it has been so long invested. Of these marvellous relations, we do not profess belief, nor would we be so rash as altogether to deny their authenticity. In circumstances such as those in which Columba stood, called forth to extirpate an old and deeply rooted system of Druidical worship, and to establish true religion upon its ruins; to surmount the prejudices of an almost barbarous and superstitious people, and to contend with a powerful and artful priesthood, we cannot, without presumption, say how far it might be fit that the Deity should countenance the labours of his faithful servant, and vouchsafe to him, even by signs and wonders, as he often did to his chosen ministers, in similar cases and situations, (probably to St. Patrick as one of them,) the means of obtaining a decided victory over his opponents.

Columba, who, according to the best accounts, was born in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, was lineally descended from the ancient royal family of that kingdom, and nearly allied to the kings of Scotland. His father was Felim the son of Fergus, who was grandson of the great

Niall, king of Ireland; and the mother of Felim was Aithne, daughter of Lorn, who first reigned in conjunction with his brother Fergus, over the Scots or Dalreudini, or as they are called in Irish history, Dalriadies, in Argyleshire.

We ought not to omit here again to remark, that according to some of the ancient Irish chronicles, Ireland took its name from Eire, a queen of the Tuatha de Danans; (so called from their great skill in necromancy,) she was the wife of Mac Griene, who was king of the island when the Milesians invaded it. It would also appear that, it was from the Tuatha de Danans, that Ireland afterwards received the name of Inisfail; from a stone that was brought by them into it, called Lia fail, and by some, "the fatal stone." Hector Bœtius, in his history of Scotland, calls it "Saxum fatale." It was looked upon as "an enchanted stone, highly venerated on account of its possessing the extraordinary power of making a terrible noise, resembling thunder, to be heard at a great distance, when any of the royal race of the Scythians should seat themselves upon it to be crowned. If, however, the person to be crowned was not of the royal line of Scythia, no noise whatever proceeded from the stone." It is gravely added, that, "all idols and diabolical charms lost their force and virtue upon the birth of our Saviour."

"All the monarchs of Ireland had been, in succession, crowned upon this stone, until Fergus, son of Earca (the first king of Scotland of the Scythian race,) sent to his brother Mortough, then king of Ireland, to beg that he would send him the stone to Scotland, in order that he might be crowned thereon king of that nation; believing that the crown would thereby be firmly fixed upon himself and his posterity." The king of Ireland complied with his request; and, upon this extraordinary stone Fergus was

crowned king of Scotland, A.D. 513. It was afterwards kept with great care at the Abbey of Scone, and it was customary for the kings of Scotland to be crowned upon it, until it was removed to England by Edward I. It is now placed under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey. This is what has been handed down to us respecting this extraordinary stone; but Mr. Petrie, in his essay on the Hill of Tara exhibits, on the authority of manuscripts, a typographical account of that locality as it stood in the twelfth century, with all its features, its raths or circular forts, the foundations of the ancient regal halls, its *Lia Fail*, or stone of destiny, on which the ancient kings of Ireland were crowned, which the credulous visitor of Westminster Abbey at this day firmly believes that he sees in the seat of King Edward's chair—and to the possession of which is attached, by the old traditions of Ireland, the talisman of the empire. This stone, or Lia Fail, is an upright pillar about nine feet high; it stands at present on the grave of a body of rebels, who were buried there in 1798: and whither it was removed from its original spot to mark the place of their interment; but its existence on the Hill of Tara may be traced, by manuscripts, from the sixth century downwards! Thus, it would appear, that Fergus, strange to say, must have allowed himself to be imposed upon by his brother Mortough; for the original stone, the Lia Fail, is still, according to Mr. Petrie, at Tara.

When Adomnan wrote the life of St. Columba, Scotia or Scotland, was, beyond doubt, one of the names of Ireland. We find in Keating's History, that "at the request of the Dalriads, in Scotland, who were harassed and oppressed by the savage Picts, or Caledonians, Niall transported a numerous army into that kingdom to assist them. When he arrived, he changed the old name of the

country, and called it Scotia, at the request of the Dalriads and the Scots themselves; but, it was upon condition that Scotland was to receive the honour of that appellation; for it was agreed that it should be called only Scotia Minor, but Scotia Major was to be the name of Ireland. The occasion of this name was in honour and memory of the lady Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh Nectonebus, king of Egypt, who was queen to the famous Gollamh, otherwise called Milesius, king of Spain: from this monarch the Dalriads descended, and therefore they made choice that the island should be called by the name of Scotia Major, rather than Hibernia, or any other appellation. The authority of the learned Camden might be insisted upon in confirmation of this account; for he asserts in his Chronicle of Britain, that Scotland was called Scotia Minor, and Ireland, Scotia Major; and declares, that there is no certain evidence upon record, to prove that the inhabitants of Scotland were known by the name of Scots, before the time that Constantine the Great was emperor of Rome."

The Irish chronicles also assert, that Aongus Ollmuchach, the son of Fiachadh Labhruine, was sent into Scotland by the King his master, to settle and collect the tribute, that was imposed upon the Picts, as an acknowledgment of homage to the crown of Ireland; and this occurred about two hundred and fifty years after the Milesians had taken possession of the island. Long before this, these chronicles state, that Reachta Righdhearg had passed over into Scotland, and imposed a tax upon its inhabitants. Cairbre Riada had likewise gone over, with a large body of troops, and had attempted to conquer the eastern part of Scotland; and from them the Scottish Dalreudini are said to have been lineally descended. Mac Con also is said to have ruled Scotland and Wales with a high hand; and from thence he went into Ireland to be present at the great

battle of Magh Muchruine, in which Art, the son of Con, the hero of a hundred battles, was slain. Some time after this, Fatha Canain, a son of Mac Con, with a large body of warriors, invaded Scotland, and took possession of a considerable part of it. The posterity of this prince, according to the Irish chronicles, were the Mac Allens and their descendants. Colla Uais and his followers, also went over to Scotland, and by their swords, acquired settlements there for their families: from this commander the noble and illustrious family of the clan Donalls in Scotland and Ireland are descended.

Criomhthan, the son of Fiachadh, king of Ireland, is also said to have invaded Scotland; as did likewise Earc, the son of Eochaidh Munramhar, son of Angus Firt, a prince descended from Cairbre Riada, whose posterity are distinguished by the names of clan Eirc, and Cineal Gabhrain, in Scotland, and Cineal Lodhairn, Cineal Comhghaill, Cineal Naongusa, and Cineal Conchriche, in Nilii, with all the branches of those ancient families. Maine Leamhna, the son of Corc, son of Liughdheach also passed over into Scotland, and acquired there extensive possessions, which from him was called Mormor Leamhna, now the dukedom of Lennox; and from this prince the noble house of Lennox are descended. Eoganach Moigh Geirgin was a descendant of a brother of the above Maine Leamhna, whose name was Cairbre Cruithniach. These two brothers, some time after the reign of Niall of the nine hostages, went over into Scotland, and settled themselves there. They were followed by the six sons of Muireadhach, the son of Eogan, son of Neill, who also acquired possession there;—"they were known by the names of the two Lodains, two Angus's, and two Feargus's; and consequently, according to the Irish chronicles, the principal Scottish families are descended from the ancient

Irish, to whom they owe the nobility of their blood, and the glory they boast of." Dr. Keating, in his General History of Ireland, declares, "that the Scottish tribes that inherit near the borders of England, have no pretence to a descent from the Irish; because their ancestors were banished out of England by William the Conqueror; which may be easily collected by the resemblance of manners and customs to be observed at this day between the borderers of both nations. Many other families likewise, that have possessions in Scotland, have no right to boast of an Irish extraction, being of the posterity of the old English. In testimony of this, we have the authority of the laborious Stowe, who in his annals, gives this account:—Henry II. king of England, was engaged in a war with the Scots, and took William, king of Scotland, prisoner, whom he ordered into custody, and to be close confined at Roan, in Normandy, where he continued a captive till he was dismissed by paying a ransom of 400 pounds; after which both kings made peace, and became friends. The king of Scotland, after his release, prepared to return into his own country; and determined, from a principle of gratitude, to take with him a number of English gentlemen, who had obliged him by many civilities in his restraint, and bestow settlements upon them among his subjects. This he generously did, upon his return, and appointed a large territory for the support of his English attendants, and their heirs for ever; which estates are enjoyed by some of their posterity to this day. The names of the principal English who followed the king into Scotland, are transmitted to us; as Balioll, Bruce, Rawly, Moubry, Sinclair, Hangiford, Ramsey, Barkley, Landell, Bisey, Wallagene, Royse, Montgomery, Walley, Colley, Milly, Fricer, Greme, Garly, and many others."

Buchanan, the Scottish historian, also tells us, that

" the natives of Ireland, and the colonies sent from thence into Scotland, were originally called Scots; in order to distinguish between the Irish and these Scots, they began to call those transplanted Irish by the name of Albanian Scots."

We also find in "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates," cap. xvi. p. 383, and "Beda Hist. lib. 2. cap. 19, and lib. 3. cap. 3," that Scotia in this age (that is, A.D. 703) was only Ireland, and the Scoti none other than the Irish. For Ireland only was the ancient Scotia, and the Irish the ancient Scots. But, about the year 500, a colony of Irish, having, under the leading of Fergus, the son of Erc, settled in that part of North Britain now called Argyleshire, first brought with them the name of Scots into that country, and there began the kingdom of the British Scots. But afterwards having, in process of time, conquered both the north and south Picts, and also received from the Saxon kings of England all the Lowlands from Graham's Dyke to the river Tweed, (which properly belonged to these princes) they thenceforth gave the name of Scotland to that country, and Ireland the ancient Scotia, assumed the name which it now bears. This was about the year 1000. For Archbishop Usher, who fully examined the matter, tells us, "that there is not any one writer who lived within a thousand years after Christ, that mentions the name of Scotland, and means any other than Ireland by it."

Scottish history says, that, "in former ages, the whole of the west coast of Argyleshire, was perpetually exposed to the descents and depredations of strangers. The Irish from the south, and the Danes from the north, formed many small colonies, at a convenient distance from the sea; but the original inhabitants never suffered them to penetrate farther. It adds "there are many monuments of the re-

motest antiquity, which not only prove the martial spirit of our ancestors, but also that they had conducted their operations with a method scarcely to be expected in those rude ages." This account of the matter, may be more agreeable and flattering to Scottish ancestral pride, than that it should be believed that the Scotch are descended from a nation, whom they erroneously imagine, were always the *wild Irish*; we consider, however, that enough has been said upon the subject, to satisfy even the most sceptical, that the authenticity of Irish history cannot always be safely questioned.

But it may be well here to inquire, from whom are the Scottish Highlanders, in general, descended?—This is a question which, we believe can only be answered by a reference to ancient Irish history, by which it appears that in the reign of Heremon, a vast multitude of warlike Picts, a branch of the Scythian nation, arrived upon the coast of Ireland; they had originally come from Thrace, but latterly from Poictiers in France. The venerable Bede says, "it happened, as fame goes, that a nation of the Picts from Scythia, setting to sea in a few long ships, after they had, by the varying of the winds, sailed round the coast of Britain, came at last into Ireland, and landed in the northern part of the island; there they found the nation of the Scots, among whom they desired a settlement; but their request was denied." This is contradicted by Irish history, which asserts that these wanderers were hospitably received by Ceriomthan Sciathbheil who then governed Leinster, under Heremon, and who entered into a strict alliance with Gud and Cathluan, his son, the commanders of the Picts; for the Scots were glad of their aid in a contest which they, at the time, had with the Britons.

After a victory, through their means, gained over the

Britons, Gud and his son resolved to possess themselves of the government of Leinster. Irish history says:—"This design was timely discovered to Heremon, the king of Ireland, who immediately raised an army to suppress these foreigners, and drive them out of the country. But before they came to engage, the Picts, unable to resist the Milesians, with great humility and submission surrendered themselves up to the mercy of the King, who with great generosity pardoned them, and withdrew his forces; but gave them notice withal, that there was a country laying east and by north of Ireland, where they might transport themselves and obtain a settlement. . . . . They immediately set sail, and arrived at Ceriuthentuath, now called Scotland, where Cathluan, the Pictish General, obtained the sovereignty of the country, and was the first monarch of the Pictish line: and of this family, after the demise of this prince, there were seventy successive Kings in Scotland;" as is stated in the Psalter of Cashel. These Picts and Caledonians—the evident ancestors of the greater part of the present Scottish Highlanders—aided at a future period, by the Irish, or as they were then called *Scots*, became the most determined and warlike opponents of the Romans; but unfortunately for the Picts, in the year of our Lord 194, Septimius Severus prevailing over three other competitors for the empire, received the purple. About the year 207, he arrived with his two sons, M. A. Antoninus (the famous Caracalla) and Geta, at Eboracum, the chief city of the north, if not of the whole province of Britain, and now York. In the year 208, Severus marched to the north, against a people whom the Romans called the Mæatæ, and the Caledonians, who had broken into the province, and were committing great ravages. He defeated them, with the loss, however, on his part, of no less than fifty thousand men. In these

desperate conflicts, in which the Roman legions and their auxiliaries suffered so severely, no doubt, the Picts and Caledonians were weakened and greatly reduced in numbers; so that they were, probably, with little difficulty, afterwards forced by their former allies the Scots, from what are now called the Lowlands of Scotland, the whole of the south of that country, and a considerable part of the present north of England; and, from a certain part of these, the Scots or Irish, in their turn, seem to have been driven by the Saxons and Germans, auxiliaries of the Britons—this apparently was the period when the Picts passed over to, and conquered Wales, as assumed by Sir William Betham.

Irish history says:—"It is certain, that the old Irish, before the English invasion, were a generous and brave people, as appears particularly by the trouble they gave the Romans, and by the assistance they afforded the Scots, and by obliging the Britons to erect a wall, of vast extent, between England and Scotland, to defend themselves from the terrible incursions of the Picts and Irish: and though the Romans were obliged to keep up an army of 25,000 foot and 300 horse to protect the boundaries, and to secure the limits of their conquest; and likewise had in constant pay a body of 23,000 foot, and 1,300 horse to protect the sea-coast and other parts of the country, from the hostilities of the Scots and Picts, yet the bravery of the ancient Irish broke through their lines and fortifications, and often defeated the whole power of the Roman army, and carried off immense booty from the inhabitants, as Samuel Daniel, an English historian, in his chronicle expressly testifies."

"Cormac Mac Cuillenan, king of Munster, and Archbishop of Cashel, gives an account, in his Psalter, that the irresistible valour of the Irish and Picts, compelled the

Britons three several times to give up, as a sacrifice, the chief commander of the Romans, in order to stop the fury of their arms, and obtain their friendship. Nor is it to be forgotten, into what miseries and distress the Britons were reduced by the Irish in the reign of Vortigern, who found himself obliged to retain Hengist and his Germans to defend him from their incursions, as the same English annalist particularly asserts. The same author relates, that the Romans, who called themselves the conquerors of the world, were forced to erect fourteen strong garrisons to protect them from the hostilities of the Scots and Picts, who harassed them with continual inroads, and cut off numbers of their legionary soldiers, notwithstanding they were assisted by the whole power of the Britons, from the time of Julius Cæsar to the reign of Valentinian, the third Emperor of that name, which consisted of the space of 500 years."

We have thought it necessary to make these remarks before we proceed farther with the Life of St. Columba.

There is no doubt but that Ireland, previous to the time of Columba, had produced, and could justly boast of many great warriors, as well as good and learned men; and his parents perceiving his promising genius, and early disposition to piety, devoted him to the Christian ministry, and placed him under the care of Cruinechan, who is styled "a devout Presbyter." Some time after, he studied under Finnian, Bishop of Clonard; also under another bishop, named Fenbar; and likewise under Gemman, a celebrated teacher of Leinster; who, like his other masters, was in the habit of giving his pupil the appellation of Saint; and under him, the piety of Columba—now in deacon's orders—became so distinguished, that his name was already spread over the kingdom of Ireland. Columba also spent some time under St. Ciaran, the founder of the

Monastery of Clon, upon the Shannon, who had preached to the Attecotti, or Dalreudini of Kintyre, and who died in the year 594. From him the parish of Kil-chiaran, now called Campbeltown, took its name.

It thus, however, appears, that Columba must have begun his ministry very young. St. Paul forbids the ordination of a novice, lest he should be lifted up with pride. Talent is not all that is necessary for the sacred office. How essential is the knowledge that is derived from experience! Thirty was the age for entering on the Levitical service. And not earlier than that time of life did John and our Saviour commence their public ministry. But, "the word of God is not bound;" for Timothy was young; so young, that Paul was obliged to say, "Let no man despise thy youth." Samuel was called whilst yet a child. Jeremiah was consecrated from his birth; and this was also nearly the case with the Prophet Hosea, whose ministry must have been little short of eighty years; and within its compass lived Lycurgus, the famous Lacedæmonian legislator, and Hesiod the Greek poet; and Rome was begun to be built. But, what a privilege, what an honour, to be early dedicated to the service of God!

How long Columba remained at Clon is uncertain; but, in the year 595, and in the twenty-eighth of his age, he founded the Monastery of Durrough, where, according to Ware, 'a copy of the four Evangels, which he had *transcribed*, was extant even in the last century;' but of his various writings more shall be said hereafter.

It would also appear that the Monastery of Swords was founded by St. Columba in the year 512, (there is here some confusion as to dates) who appointed St. Finian *Lobair*, or the leper, as its Abbot, and to whom, it is said, he gave a missal, or copy of the Gospels, written by him-

self. In the course of time this monastery became possessed of great wealth, and the town of Swords rose into much importance. It contained within its precincts, in addition to St. Columba's Church, four chapels, and nine exterior subservient chapels. Hence, on the institution of the collegiate church of St. Patrick, Dublin, it ranked as the first of the thirteen canonries attached to that Cathedral by Archbishop Comin, and was subsequently known by the appellation of "the golden prebend." Swords was burnt and plundered frequently, as well by the native princes, as by the Danes. By the latter it was reduced to ashes in the years 1012, and 1016; and by the former in the years 1035 and 1135. On this last occasion, the aggressor, Conor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, was slain by the men of Lusk. Its final calamity of this kind, occurred in the year 1166. Its historical recollections are as deeply interesting as its ruins and round tower are now remarkable.

Dr. Smith, to whom the world is deeply indebted for an excellent Life of St. Columba, and by which, in what we intend to bring forward respecting this extraordinary man, we purpose being chiefly guided, tells us, that his natural talents had been highly cultivated by the best education which the times in which he lived could afford; but they by no means seem to have been confined to that profession which he followed, but to have extended much farther, and into the general circle of science; for his knowledge of medicine, and skill in curing diseases, were so great that many of his cures were, in those days, looked upon as miracles. And in history, laws, and customs, of his own, as well as of different countries, he was so well versed, that he made a principal figure in a council of princes and noblemen, that had been held at Drumkeath, by Aodh, king of Ireland, to settle between the Scottish and Irish

kings the right of succession to the Dalriadic province in Ulster. And we need not be surprised at this, when we find that previously to his founding the monastery or seminary at Durrough, and his going to Britain, he had visited several foreign countries and their chief cities, and amongst others Rome; in all of which his piety, learning, and other accomplishments procured him the highest respect and esteem; for some years had still to elapse before a bishop of Rome would dare to act in a manner which would not only have astonished Christendom, but also horrified a man like Columba. This, however, at length did happen; and we may be excused for here mentioning that it was in the eighth century that the Emperor Leo Isauricus deemed it to be his duty, as a Christian, to suppress image worship at Constantinople and in the East. He attempted to do the same in his provincial Italian dominions, when he was informed by Pope Gregory II. that he exceeded his proper commission by interfering in spiritual matters; and he was taught that, although the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate, the more formidable weapon of *excommunication* is intrusted to the clergy, who will not spare a heretic even though he be seated on a throne: *you accuse the Catholics of idolatry*, said the Pontiff, in one of his letters to Leo, *and by the accusation you betray your own impiety and ignorance.* He then proceeded to point out to the undiscerning emperor, the distinction between pagan idols and Christian images. *The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness: the latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints, who had approved,* BY A CROWD OF MIRACLES, *the innocence and merit of this relative worship.* Leo, however, dissatisfied with this luminous exposition of the precept in the Decalogue, brought to a practical issue

the important dispute, whether the worship of images ought to be maintained or abolished: and the result of the struggle was the ruin of his affairs in Italy, and the complete establishment of *Catholic*—what name shall we give it? shall we say—*Idolatry* in the Western Patriarchate. Amidst the triumph of the *Catholic arms* the Roman Pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts; and, with their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who, by word or deed, should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints." At the time Columba was in Rome, little could he have imagined that *his own image* would be one day set up to be invoked, if not worshipped by his deluded Roman Catholic countrymen; for they, in ignorance of the truth, claim him as a saint belonging to their present modern Church, little suspecting that he had been one of the most formidable opponents of Romish innovations.

From some of the Eastern churches Columba evidently took the model of his *monastic rule.* Even in Italy he is said to have founded a monastery; and when in France he was solicited by King Sigibert, who made him great offers and promises, to remain with him; but Columba, whose ambition it was rather to be useful than great, told him, that he was so far from coveting the wealth of others, that, for Christ's sake, he had renounced his own:—he here, of course, alluded to what is stated in Irish history, his having made over to his relatives his princely patrimony in Ireland, leaving it to them to supply his limited wants, and to furnish him with the means of carrying out his plans for establishing his always economically managed religious seminaries.

Ireland, as we have seen, had for a considerable time enjoyed the light of the Gospel, and abounded in good and

learned men, whilst nearly all Scotland and its isles were still covered with darkness, and shackled with Druidical horrors and superstitions. On those dismal regions, therefore, Columba looked with a pitying eye; and, however forbidding the prospect, resolved to become the apostle of that part of the world. Accordingly, in the year 563, (Bede says 565) he set out in a wicker boat, covered with hides, such as were in use in those days, and accompanied by twelve friends or followers—most of them, like himself, of princely or noble lineage—he landed in the Isle of Hy, or Aoi, or Iona; the common name of which is now I-colum-kill: that is, the Isle of Colum of the Churches. This place he probably chose as being conveniently situated for his attending to the important religious concerns which he had still to manage in Ireland, as well as for carrying on the work which he had also in view in Scotland.

Not only Columba, but also his companions, by whom he was greatly beloved, were all distinguished for learning, purity of faith, and sanctity of life; therefore, by men highly enlightened and endued with the spirit of genuine Christianity, was founded the order of the Culdees in Scotland, and which afterwards spread itself far and wide. Bede, in what he meant as censure, commends them highly when he says, "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical and apostolical writings." They continued firmly (and as all the Irish divines then did) to oppose the errors and superstitions at that time beginning to be prevalent in the Church of Rome; and their successors in the ministry never ceased to do so, until towards the end of the twelfth century, when they were overpowered and supplanted by a new race of monks, as inferior to them in learning and piety, as they surpassed them in wealth and puerile ceremonies and observances.

"There is nothing," says the Quarterly Review for September, 1843, "in the history of Christian Europe more interesting than the religious colony planted by St. Columba in the remote and now deserted islet of Iona. Columba obtained a gift of the island from Conal, a king of the Scots, who then held the western shore of Scotland, and settled his followers there in the year of our Lord 563. The monastery, as later monks named it, or the family of Y, as the ancient Irish annalists loved to call it, contained numbers of all ages, and of both sexes, for the vow of celibacy was a device of later date. Their time was given to prayer, reading or hearing the Scriptures, and all works of needful labour, either of agriculture or of fishing. Those qualified were employed in teaching the young, and in the important work of writing the books required for the service of the church. Education soon became the great object to which the energies of the successors of Columba were turned. Hither resorted the young from all the adjacent continents, from Scotland, from Ireland, and England, to acquire the learning, and study the discipline of the Columban church. From hence, for centuries, went forth priests and bishops to convert and instruct, to ordain, and to found similar establishments; and here, as to a holy refuge, more than one, when their course of duty was run, retired to be at rest, and to lay their bones beside the blessed Columba."

The Quarterly Review, from which we have been quoting, attaches much importance to the resuscitation of the old records and registers which formerly belonged to monastic and other religious establishments; and asserts, that the historian who hereafter adventures on the ancient history of Scotland, must make it, in a great measure, an ecclesiastical history. In this we almost coincide; but, unless the records and registers kept of old at Iona are produced (information respecting them is, we hope and

believe, now chiefly to be got in Ireland) and referred to, in order to ascertain the truth as to certain matters which have been long in dispute, and at what periods learned and zealous men went forth from thence to establish, visit, and superintend the various seminaries and churches planted by Columba and his successors in the Highlands, Lowlands, and Isles of Scotland—such as those at Dunkeld, Abernethy, Kilrimont, or St. Andrews; at Abercorn, Monimusk, Kirkaldy; and also in Ireland, England, on the continent of Europe, and even as far north as Iceland—we say, that unless such records can be produced and judiciously referred to, and that attention they so justly merit be paid to them, an historian must inevitably be attempting to construct an edifice upon a most unstable basis, a basis only upheld by the feeble props afforded by documents connected with a perishing system of Romanism; and which, from an early period, had always caused men to have something to conceal or to pervert; and in the to-be-hoped-for scrutiny to which the old Irish manuscripts will be subjected, we trust the alterations and interpolations found in them will be carefully looked to, lest the meanings of the originals may have been thereby perverted.

We readily admit that, like other fallible human beings, we most likely have made many mistakes, and have been, and may still, in spite of, all our precautions, be led to draw erroneous conclusions, from using documents which we are, for various reasons, induced to look upon as historical; but which, by the learned world, would perhaps be thrown aside with well deserved contempt. We would, therefore, in all becoming humility, as mere students, and fully sensible of our many weaknesses and imperfections, take the liberty of referring such of our readers as have a leaning towards, or predilection for the writings of the

old, and by them admired and reverenced Romish authors, —and they need not apprehend disappointment in not being given ample references to such authorities as will elucidate much to their satisfaction, and compel them to bow with all due respect to their opinions and reasonings, —that is to say, we would refer them to the fourth edition of what must be considered by the Editor of the Quarterly Review, whose remarks we have just alluded to, as the very kind of work he wants. It is entitled, "A Sketch of the History of the Church of England to the Revolution of 1688. By Thomas Vowler Short, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man." We are glad that we had not seen this most elaborate work, before we had far advanced in the collection of materials for this attempt; as, very likely, we would have been deterred from touching, even in the cursory way we do, on the history of the Church of England, at the period when it is about to supersede the branch of the Church of Christ, which had so long before flourished in Ireland. We shall only presume to remark that his lordship, like the world in general, seems to have had no knowledge of the history of that important branch of the Church of Christ planted in Ireland by St. Patrick, and which was so long superintended by St. Columba.

We, however, are aware how much pious and enlightened Irishmen, in conjunction with the successors of Columba, had to do in the great work of love to mankind. Religion was then, indeed, in the heart of an Irishman *a passion*, of which the cold hesitating independent spirit of the present century can scarcely form an idea. That it is still so in the hearts of most of the lower orders of society in Ireland is most certain; but alas! it now leads them to throw themselves blindly at the feet of their priests, or before the relics of saints, with an entire devotion both of the understanding and affections. It appears from the writings

of Mr. Petrie, that these *relics*—not such relics as the chemise of St. Cecilia, shewn at Toledo in Spain,—have been guarded with the most mysterious awe. They have been screened from detection by any who would be likely to profane them, whilst their existence has been generally known by whole districts. They have been applied for ages publicly and habitually to a variety of superstitious uses. And nothing but abject poverty has prevailed on the hereditary keepers to part with them. In this manner they can be traced, for the most part, up to a very short time back, and beyond this their existence and authenticity, and preservation in certain families, is proved by indisputable historical evidence from an uninterrupted series of manuscript documents; but of these relics we shall speak more fully hereafter. But, at the period above alluded to, Ireland, as well as Iona, was pouring forth a tide of holy and educated men to carry all which then existed in the world of Christian knowledge and discipline into the rest of Europe. Ireland in this period was known, according to Colgan, as the "Communis Europæ bonarum literarum officinia, communeque ascetarum sacrarium." It was to such a degree the recognised nurse and mother of such men, that in foreign churches a saint, whose nation was not known, was at once reputed an Irishman. According to the Quarterly Review, No. II. 152, every Abbot of Iona for 700 years was an Irishman. So also was St. Chad. Glastonbury is known in the manuscripts as the Glastonbury of the Irish. The Palatine school of Charlemagne was Irish. The saints venerated, as we have seen, in Cornwall, and to a great extent in Wales, were Irishmen. All the most eminent ecclesiastics in Scotland, down to the twelfth century, were Irish. Even in Iceland are found Irish bells, croziers, and shrines. The monasteries of Bavaria, of Austria, and those along the banks of

the Rhine, were formed from Ireland. In France, in Switzerland, and Italy, the same phenomenon occurs. Whatever superior intellect and piety irradiates the darkness of that period, is connected with Ireland and the Irish, under the name of Scoti. It is a fact to be remembered and cherished, not only by Ireland at this day, but by England even more, that what has been produced upon a certain soil from certain elements of national character, may be produced again. And amidst all the miseries of poverty and neglect, of superstition on the one hand, and laxity of rule upon the other, no observant eye can examine the state of Ireland, even in the nineteenth century, without detecting elements of intellect, feeling, energy, faith, piety, and self-devotion, even in both the extremes of its religious divisions, which promise a fertile harvest in return for wise cultivation."—But to proceed.

Columba, in his forty-second year, when he landed in Iona, needed all that vigour of mind and body which he possessed, to enable him to encounter those difficulties and dangers which presented themselves, in such forbidding colours, when he undertook the conversion of the Northern Picts, or Caledonians to Christianity. That nation was in such a barbarous state, that some of them, regardless of the kindliness and affability of his address, and the accounts they had had of the sanctity of his character, made several attempts upon his life; and the king, not more civilized than his people, even ordered his gates to be shut, when the man of God first approached them. The Druids too, as most deeply interested, were the most forward in opposing him, and wanted neither, as we have seen, eloquence, influence, nor art, to effect their purposes. The country itself was wild and mountainous, and greatly infested with wild beasts; from which Columba and his companions were often in the greatest danger. The chief

difficulty which he appears at first to have had to contend with, arose out of his imperfect knowledge of the dialect of the people; for, in some instances, he required the aid of an interpreter, when he preached to them the words of salvation. Ignorance of the language of a people, and only acquiring it by slow degrees among them, and in the daily habits of intercourse, as is now too often the case, is much against a Missionary being able, however great his zeal, to inspire those whom he wishes to instruct in a new religion, with that necessary respect for himself personally, or for it. Indeed, an imperfect acquaintance with the language spoken in the country he goes to, gives the would-be teacher an appearance of inferiority, even in intellect, and certainly in argument; consequently, in place of gaining, he loses ground, and ultimately becomes an object of neglect, and even of ridicule.

Seeing this great difficulty in the way of our being able to return of ourselves, or by the aid of others, equally fallible as ourselves, to the true God, we are lost in awe and wonder, when we consider the inscrutable dealings of Providence with men. The confounding their language at Babel, and their consequent dispersion throughout the world, had, as some suppose, the effect of producing all the various systems of idolatry, always and still so prevalent; but what are they all, but corruptions of the one true religion established in Paradise, of which they still retain some of the principles and emblems? These, by degrees, were further corrupted, and continued to be more and more so, by always erring mortals, until a knowledge of their Creator and Preserver was entirely lost on earth, except where He himself, who declares that "My ways are not your ways, and My thoughts are not your thoughts," was graciously pleased to preserve it—that is to say, among the descendants of Abraham. But in the fulness of time,

the Messiah came into the world, to call mankind out of the darkness, or total ignorance, into which they had fallen, when left to themselves and their own devices, and to restore them to a knowledge of the true God. Yet, the propagation of this great and essential truth, has always been, and is still, mysteriously retarded, for some wise purpose, by the diversity of language or tongue to be met with in every part of the world.

Columba's self-denial likewise seemed extraordinary to the Picts—sometimes fasting for whole days, watching and praying for whole nights, and submitting, besides, to constant fatigue of body, and anxiety of mind, or to intense study; and withal being so crucified to the world, as to reject what are usually considered its innocent comforts and enjoyments. Even at the age of seventy-six, it is said, that Columba's bed was the bare ground, and a stone his pillow; and we may add, that the strictness of his monastic rule was such, as would seem to us, in the present day, an insurmountable barrier to his succeeding in the objects he had so much at heart. But we must not judge of such austerities by the state of things in the nineteenth century, nor suppose it extravagant conduct in an ascetic to act thus, at a time when the luxuries of the wealthy could afford, perhaps, but a little heath or straw.

But, in the present day, when we reflect upon the secularising spirit which has been infused into the Church of Christ, by its strange connection with the State, the demoralizing influence of patronage, leading to pluralities, simony, and a scramble for money and aggrandizement, we cannot but deeply feel the force of the solemn declaration of Jesus, when he said, "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" When the disciples were sent forth to evangelize the world, they were to go without purse, scrip, or changes

of raiment, relying upon his promise, "*Lo, I am with you, even to the end of the world.*" Then the Gospel had, indeed, a mighty and saving influence among men; but ever since the Church has ceased to lean on the arm of Jehovah, and to seek for support from the weak and beggarly elements of the world, it has in a great measure ceased to be an institution of God for salvation, and is merely an hierarchy dealing in advowsons, preferments, and livings. If the humble tent maker of Tarsus—the maker of bishops, could now descend from the world of spirits, and revisit earth—could he meet our bishops, lolling in splendid coaches, attended by equeries, postillions, footmen, arrayed in gorgeous liveries, &c.; would not the apostle think such a display a fine commentary on the simplicity of that gospel taught by the homeless Nazarine, and promulgated by the poor fishermen of Galilee; but to proceed.

Notwithstanding these seeming disadvantages, the labours of Columba were attended with an astonishing degree of success. In the course of a few years, the greater part of the Pictish kingdom, was converted to the Christian faith; seminaries, or monasteries as they were afterwards called, were erected in many places, and churches were every where established. Columba, as Primate, superintended and directed for many years all the affairs of the Pictish, and much of those of the Scottish, and Irish churches, to be head of which he was created at the great council of Drimceat, or as some write it, Drumkeath. Bede and many others have remarked as singular, that Columba and his successors, though only abbots, should have exercised jurisdiction over bishops. But though Columba was not ambitious of high titles, yet he had a good right to be the head of the churches and seminaries which he himself had planted; and these were

many, both in Scotland, its isles, and in Ireland. Magnus Odonellus tells us, that above three hundred churches were established by St. Columba. Joceline calls him "the founder of a hundred monasteries;" and the Irish annalists in general, say, that, next to St. Patrick, he was the chief instrument in establishing the gospel in almost all Ireland.

St. Columba was at length most highly reverenced not only by the king of the Picts, but also by all the neighbouring princes and chieftains, as well as by the people in general, who courted his acquaintance, and liberally assisted him in his occasionally unavoidably expensive undertakings. Had it not been for the influence he humanely exercised in their behalf, the Druids would then have been all destroyed; and though Druidism was suppressed, yet the bards were still allowed to rehearse the heroic deeds of kings, and chieftains of clans, or tribes.

Wherever Columba went, he was received with demonstrations both of respect and joy; crowds attended him along the roads; and, to the places where he lodged for the night, the neighbourhood gladly sent supplies of provisions for himself and followers. When the multiplicity of his business admitted of his remaining at home at Iona, multitudes resorted to him for aid and advice, as to a physician both of soul and body. But wherever he resided was considered as holy, and to sleep in the same dust with him, became afterwards, and for ages, an object of ambition even to kings and princes. But, how are we to account for this great and rapid success of Columba; for, in the present day, we must be cautious how we speak of his having possessed, as asserted by his biographers, the gift of prophecy, or of his having had the power vouchsafed to him of working miracles? At all events, the Providence of God seemed to have smiled upon his

labours, and to have attended him wherever he went; and how truly applicable to him are these beautiful lines:—

> "When such a man, familiar with the skies,
> Has filled his urn where those pure waters rise;
> And once more mingles with us, meaner things;
> 'Tis e'en as if an angel shook his wings—
> Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide,
> Which tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

The natural endowments of Columba, as we before observed, had been highly cultivated by the best education which the times he lived in could afford, and these had been matured during the course of his travels in foreign countries. Great prudence and address may be discovered in his having been able to maintain good order and subordination in so many religious establishments, so remote from each other—to direct most of the ecclesiastical affairs of several nations, differing in language and customs—to superintend the education of youth, and furnish so many churches with fit pastors—and to do all this in such a manner that the increasing love and veneration of men seem to have invariably kept pace with his years. To these extraordinary talents, which were accompanied with the most engaging manners and address, and a pleasant cheerful countenance, were joined another essential quality in a preacher, a most powerful and commanding voice, which, Adomnan says, he could on occasions raise so as to resemble thunder, and make it be distinctly heard at a mile's distance.

But whatever degree of knowledge Columba may have derived from an early education, and excellent religious instruction, he never ceased, by intense study and application, to add to it. Every moment which so active and pious a life could spare from his main pursuits, was devoted to study. Sometimes he heard his disciples read, and sometimes he read himself; sometimes he transcribed,

and sometimes read what had been transcribed by others; and as it is often mentioned in his lives that, what he wrote or transcribed was connected with the service of the church, may we not from this conclude that, besides insuring the correctness of these copies of the Scriptures, a *Liturgy* (we are aware of the Liturgy said to have been used in Ireland, in the seventh century, and preserved by St. Engus, but it is of little value), must have been with him an object of primary importance; for without one, no branch of the Church of Christ—or what is supposed by some to be one—can possibly, for any length of time, maintain either pure doctrine or necessary uniformity in its services or religious worship:—indeed, according to what is contained in St. Paul's Epistles, particularly to the Ephesians and to Timothy, no body of persons, however numerous, can properly or consistently consider themselves as belonging to a Christian church, or even call themselves Christians, whose ministers are not ordained, and governed by a properly constituted bishop, or "angel;" (a name exactly the same in meaning with that of apostle,) for do we not read that, after Philip, who had by the apostles been ordained along with St. Stephen, a deacon only, had converted and baptised the Samaritans, "when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John: who when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: for as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." Acts viii. 14, 15, 16, and 17. St. Paul also in his epistle to the Hebrews, sixth chapter, and first and second verses, classes the "doctrine of baptism, and the laying on of hands," among the "principles of the doctrine of Christ." Now,

we would earnestly entreat the serious attention of all Dissenters from the Established Church, to this, and to the truly alarming situation in which they would thus appear to stand in the presence of God. Do not their ministers, and even the Presbyterian ministers of what has assumed the name of the Church of Scotland, stand, like Korah and his company, (see book of Numbers, 16th Chapter,) who were Levites, or the lower order of ministers, but who had rebelled against those whom God had placed in authority over them, and declared, as those who despise the authority of the bishops of the known branches of the universal Church of Christ now do—"ye take too much upon you." "Wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?" But, reader, you will be the less surprised to find this strange rebellious spirit working in and influencing both ministers and their deluded flocks of dissenters from the *Catholic Church*, when you read in the epistle of Jude, at the 11th verse, that under the gospel, as under the law, there would be persons who are to perish in the gainsaying of Korah—this is a fearful yet a fair inference to draw from the text; but we abstain from saying more upon the subject, and refer all those who are so situated to a *penny* pamphlet, (sixth thousand) which is attracting much attention, entitled "An Earnest Exhortation to forsake the Devices and Inventions of Men, and to follow the Pattern given in the Word of God; by a Convert from the Presbyterian Religion. Printed by Robert Seton, Edinburgh, in 1846."

It was, however, by teaching the use of letters, and in establishing seminaries, that Columba rendered the greatest services to mankind; and he thus also kindled a light, which shone brightly in what had been dark places, for many generations, and by its genial beams he, under Providence, cherished the seed which he had so judiciously

sown, and brought it forward to an abundant harvest. Mention is made in his Lives of various books of his writing and copying; and as he wished his usefulness to man to be commensurate with the moments of his life, and to make a part of the ultimate preparation for heaven, he spent some time in transcribing the Psalter, even on that very night on which "he knew and foretold" that he was to be translated to eternal day.

But to Mr. Petrie we are indebted for the following important information and remarks:—In speaking of the *Irish relics* we before alluded to, he says, that "the *Book of Kells* in point of beauty and splendour is not surpassed by any of its age known to exist. This manuscript, a manuscript of the four Gospels, was given to Trinity College, Dublin, and is now in its possession, by King Charles II. with the library of Archbishop Usher. It is proved to have been originally in the possession of the monastery of Kells, by a variety of records and documents relating to the property of that monastery, which are inscribed in blank leaves of the folio. We know from the Irish annals that in that monastery was preserved a remarkable manuscript of the Gospels, belonging to St. Columba, and held in the greatest veneration. The style of writing fixes it undoubtedly not later than the sixth century. Its exquisite beauty of illumination can only be described in the words of Giraldus, speaking of a manuscript of a similar kind at Kildare:—"inter universa Kyldariæ miracula nil mihi miraculosius occurrit." It has been generally identified by the most eminent critics with *Columba's own book of Kells.* It may even be a question whether this was not the identical manuscript described in such glowing terms by Giraldus in the twelfth century, as then in the possession of the church of Kildare, and known as the Book of the Angel; and perhaps is the same

which St. Columba is known to have taken away as a relic of St. Patrick from Armagh, and transplanted to Kells."

"In the same library is a copy of the Gospels, known by the name of the Book of Durrow, or Durrough. By inscriptions, which in Bishop Nicholson's time (see Irish Historical Library) were still upon the silver ornament of the case, it is proved that this book had belonged to St. Columba's great monastery at Durrow; and that it had been decorated at the expense of Flan O'Melaghlin, who was monarch of Ireland in the ninth century. And it is ascertained by the uniform tradition of manuscript history, that this volume was *in the hand-writing of St. Columba himself.*

"In the Royal Irish Academy is the Cathach, a manuscript of the Psalms in the hand-writing of the same saint. It is a small quarto, very imperfect. It was deposited in the Academy by the present Sir Richard O'Donnell, who is considered a descendant of Columba's own family. In the possession of the O'Donnells, as Lords of Donegal, it has been preserved since the close of the eleventh century. Beyond that, by the undoubted evidence of manuscripts, it can be traced in the possession of the tribe, a branch of whom were its hereditary keepers, and held the lands of Bally Mac Rafferty on this very title. Like other relics of the kind, it was enshrined in a magnificent case, which an inscription of the remotest antiquity, and traceable in every age of Irish history, *forbade to be opened.* Even a few years since, when Sir William Betham was allowed by the family to inspect it, the same stipulation was solemnly made, under the belief that some awful calamity would follow on its violation. As one of the great reliquaries of the north of Ireland, it was carried, like other similar treasures, before their chiefs in battle, as a sort of standard, and from this derives its name—the Cathach or warrior—

and was employed as the most solemn sanction which could be given to oaths. According to the Life of St. Columba by O'Donnell, this was the identical manuscript which was the occasion of Columba's leaving Ireland and establishing himself in Iona.

"Another manuscript in the hand-writing of St. Columba must have been extant at no very distant period, and may perhaps even now be recovered; though at present nothing remains but the richly ornamented case of sculptured silver and enamel. This case itself is repeatedly mentioned in ancient manuscripts as the Meeshach.

"In the possession of Lord Rossmore is the Domnach Airged, or silver Dominica, a case similar to the Meeshach, of highly ornamented silver, set with gems and enamelled, and exhibiting a remarkable instance of three distinct ages of Irish art—in the eighth, the fourteenth, and the sixteenth century; work of each of which periods may be traced on the case, and indicates a gradual decline. The size of this case is that of a quarto volume; and it contains an interior wooden case, in which is deposited a copy of the four Gospels, each Gospel being a separate manuscript. The vellum is now so conglutinated and massed together that as yet no one has ventured to separate all the leaves. But by the examination already made by the learned and accomplished Dr. Todd, it appears that the version is different from any one known, is anterior to the version of Jerome, and is written in characters which bear the mark of the fourth and fifth century. The gift of this manuscript by St. Patrick to the first Bishop of Clogher is mentioned under the same name in the 'Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,' a work, even in its interpolated state, anterior to the tenth century. Under the same name it has always been known among the peasantry down to this day; and the inscription,

of various dates, on the case, describes it as the reliquary in the possession of the Bishop of Clogher or Clones.

"In the possession of the Rev. Mr. Brownlow, of the County of Derry, there is also the celebrated Book of Armagh, the identical book mentioned by St. Bernard as one of the three relics of St. Patrick—the bell, the crozier, and the book—the possessor of which the people, without inquiry, recognized as their bishop. The bell is still in existence, and the crozier is known to have been destroyed in Dublin at the Reformation. The manuscript was considered of such inestimable value that its safe stewardship, like that of so many other relics, became an hereditary office of dignity, and was held by a family connected with the Church of Armagh, who derived their name, Mac Moyre, or son of the steward, from this circumstance, and as a remuneration for it held no less than eight townlands in the county, still known as the lands of Bally Mac Moyre, or Mac Moyre town." Such are the ancient *relics* preserved so carefully in Ireland; and how different are they from such trash as are exhibited to be adored at Treves, at Toledo, and at Seville—they are those of men highly honoured by God, as his good and faithful servants; whose object it was to preserve *His Word* pure and unadulterated, and thus to transmit it to posterity.

No doubt many of our readers are aware of the vast subterraneous caverns or excavations, called catacombs, which branch in all directions under and around the city of Rome, to the extent of at least sixteen miles. There are similar excavations, also of great extent, at Paris; which have been long used as depositories for the bones of Christians, curiously arranged on both sides of the subterraneous passages, and even made to form chapels, in which masses are performed for the souls of the *faithful.* But those at Rome were, it is well known, produced in the times when Paganism was in the ascendant, by the continued digging

and quarrying of sand and stone for the purpose of building; but they ultimately became the retreat, in times of persecution, as well as the cemetery, of the early Christians, during a period of about three hundred years, and until, as it is remarked, "the true faith issued, as it were, out of the ground to take possession of empire." Now, it would appear, from what were found in these catacombs, that there was nothing to prove that there could have been any thing in common between these early Christians and those who afterwards assumed that empire. There were not to be seen in them crucifixes, images, relics, &c.; in fact, there was nothing to show that their belief, or forms of worship, had any thing in common with those which distinguish the Roman Catholic religion from the Protestant. But to proceed with the Life of St. Columba.

In the character of this man of God an early, uniform, and strong spirit of piety were conspicuous. Devoted from his birth to the service of God, and evidently bent on the pursuit of holiness, he seems to have almost reached the goal before others think of starting in the race. The appellation of saint was given to him, as we have already seen, while he was yet a child. But, far from resting in any measure of sanctity acquired in early life, he incessantly laboured after higher and higher degrees of it, even to his latest hour. In every moment, in every motion, and in every action of his life, he seems to have maintained upon his spirit a lively sense, a strong impression, and, it may be said, an almost clear vision of the presence of God. "When do you purpose to sail, Columba?" said the Druid magician Broichan—"On the third day hence," replied the saint, "if it be the will of God, and that I am then alive." "You cannot," says Broichan, "for I will raise contrary winds, and spread over you mists and darkness." "All things," replied Columba, "are under the control of

the Omnipotent God, and every motion of mine is undertaken in His name, and entirely guided by His directions."

It seems to have been his invariable rule to undertake no work, nor engage in any business, without having first invoked God's blessing upon it. If about to officiate in any ministerial duty, he would first implore the Divine presence and aid to discharge it properly. If he himself, or any of his friends, were to go anywhere, whether by sea or land, their first care was to implore God to be propitious, and their last words at parting, were solemn prayer and benediction. If he administered medicines for the cure of diseases, he accompanied them with prayer to the God that healeth. If he administered even counsel or advice, he would accompany it with prayer to Him who disposeth the heart to feel and the ear to listen; and sometimes he would accompany that prayer with fasting. As to his frequent fastings, we allude to them because most of his biographers do so; yet we cannot conceive that so learned and pious a man, whose passions, through life, were by divine aid kept in such complete subjection, could have felt it requisite thus to mortify the flesh with the affections and lusts thereof; as all candid Christians must admit they find it constantly necessary to do; and yet inconsistently omit the duty of fasting, though it is wisely enjoined by the canons of the Church of England: at all events, it is not for a moment to be supposed, that so highly enlightened—may we say, inspired?—a Christian could have laid claim to any merit for an act, the folly of which, when carried to such an extent as thereby to weaken or exhaust both body and mind, is admirably illustrated in a work recently published, entitled, "*Fasting, Fasts, and Fasters,*" printed by Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard, London, to which we beg the reader's attention.

In seasons of danger and alarm, whether public or

private, he always had recourse to prayer, as the most effectual way to prevent, or cure, or bear, every evil to which man is subject. And the better to recommend the same course to others, he used to observe and instance answers to prayer. Thus he ascribed it to uncommon wrestling in prayer that a raging pestilence passed by Iona, and, to the same cause, (their having prayed and fasted,) he ascribes its having carried off only one in the monastery of that man of prayer, Baithen. He recommended prayer still farther, by representing it as extending its efficacy to future times, and to generations yet unborn; and Adomnan gratefully acknowledges, that at least Columba's prayers were in his own days productive of signal blessings. "In our times," says he, "we are preserved from another pestilence, so that, though it raged throughout all Europe, it hath not visited our territory; and though we walked for two years in the midst of its repeated devastations and ruined villages in England, the kingdom of our good friend Alfred,"—this must have been a son of King Osway, of Northumberland,—"none of us were ever hurt by it. Thanks be to God, the efficacy of our venerable Father's prayers hath surely reached us."

The original poem, of which the following is a strictly literal translation from the Irish, is attributed to the above Alfred, and is said to have been written by him during his exile in Ireland, where he was known by the name of Flann Fion. On the death of his father, he was violently persecuted by his brother, and obliged to retire into Ireland, where, according to Bede, in his life of St. Cuthbert, he devoted his time to study. This was about the year 685.

"I found in the fair Inisfail,
In Ireland while in exile,
Many women, no silly crowd,
Many laics, many clerics.

I found in each province
Of the five provinces in Ireland,
Both in Church and state,
Much of food—much of raiment.

I found gold and silver,
I found honey and wheat,
I found affection with the people of God,
I found banquets, and cities.

I found in Armagh the splendid,
Meekness, wisdom, circumspection,
Fasting in obedience to the Son of God,
Noble, prosperous sages.

I found in each great Church,
Whether internal, on shore, or island,
Learning, wisdom, devotion to God,
Holy welcome and protection.

I found the lay monks,
Of alms, the active advocates—
And in proper order with them,
The Scriptures without *corruption*.

I found in Munster without prohibition,
Kings, queens, and royal bards,
In every species of poetry well skilled—
Happiness, comfort, pleasure.

I found in Conacht, famed for justice,
Affluence, milk in full abundance,
Hospitality, lasting vigour, fame,
In this territory of Ceroghan of heroes.

I found in the country of Connall (Tirconnell)
Brave, victorious heroes,
Fierce men of fair complexion,
The high stars of Ireland.

I found in the province of Ulster,
Long-blooming beauty—hereditary vigour—
Young scions of energy,
Though fair, yet fit for war and brave.

I found in the territory of Boyle,
* * * * (MS. effaced)
Brehons, Erenachs, palaces,
Good military weapons, active horsemen.

I found in the fair-surfaced Leinster,
From Dublin to Slewmargy,
Long living men, health, prosperity,
Bravery, hardihood, and traffic."

There appears to be no reason to question the genuineness of the above—the reader, by referring to the Dublin Penny Journal, from which it is copied, may satisfy himself as to this, and also that the ancient Irish possessed ample stores in their native language, capable of captivating the fancy, enlarging the understanding, and improving the heart. Ireland was famous from a very early period, for cultivating the kindred arts of poetry and music. Lugad, the son of Ith, is called in old writings, "the first poet of Ireland;" and there still remains, after a lapse of three thousand years, fragments of his poetry.

After him, but long before the Christian era, flourished Royne File, or the poetic; and Ferceirte, a bard and herald. Lugar and Congal lived about the time of our Redeemer, and many of their works are extant. The *Dinn Seanchas*, or history of noted places in Ireland, compiled by Amergin Mac Amalgaid, in the year 544, relates that in the time of Geide, king of Ireland, "the people deemed each other's voices sweeter than the warblings of a melodious harp; such peace and concord reigned among them, that no music could delight them more than the sound of their own voices: *Temur (Tarah)* was so called from its celebrity for melody, above the palaces of the world. *Tea*, or *Te*, signifying melody, or sweet music, and *mur* a wall. *Te-mur*, the wall of music."—But to proceed.

In the most unpromising situations, and under the most

unfavourable circumstances, Columba encouraged a trust in Providence, and cheered men with the hopes of deliverance from their dangers and difficulties, if they prayed and did not faint. This trust he had in the highest degree himself, and expressed the utmost satisfaction whenever he saw it firmly fixed in the hearts of others. "A huge sea monster has been seen last night in the course that you are to take to-day, my dear Baithen, and it may probably meet you." "And if should," replied Baithen, "both it and I are in the hands of God."—"Go in peace, my son, thy faith is sufficient to save thee from the danger."

This Baithen, the cousin, favourite disciple, and immediate successor of Columba, as abbot of Iona, was also much renowned for his wisdom, learning, and sanctity. In a very ancient account of his life, it is said, that no man ever saw him idle, but always engaged in reading, praying, or working: that, next to Columba, he was deemed to be the best acquainted with the Scriptures, and to have the greatest extent of learning of any one on this side of the Alps: that for his zeal, prudence, sanctity, strict discipline, and primitive simplicity of manners, Columba used to compare him to John the Evangelist,—does not this, and what follows, give us a considerable insight into the state of society, as well as of religion, at that period?

The intercessions and prayers of the Church, or congregation of Christians, he especially recommended, and regarded so much, that on the greatest emergencies, by night or by day, he had always immediate recourse to prayer. Thus when, on a certain day, he had notice that Aidan, king of the Scots, one of his relatives and friends, was about to engage in battle, he quickly ordered the bell to be rung to summon all his monks to the church, in

order to join their united prayers for victory and safety to Aidan. Thus we see, that Columba considered, that when the State protects the Church, it owes to it, in return, its prayers, as well as a ready co-operation in maintaining the good order of society. But, the better to recommend the prayers of the Church, he ascribed to them not only more efficacy than to those of any one saint, however dear to God, but the power of almost changing the determined purpose of God himself. It is said, "one day as two of his disciples talked to him, they observed his face brighten with unusual and incomparable joy; and in a moment after, they saw this placid and angelic sweetness of countenance changed into grief and sadness. With difficulty they extorted from him the following account of these varied appearances; but, on condition, that they would keep it a secret until after his death:—"thirty years, which I prayed God to give me in Britain, are now expired, and I have much longed, and prayed, and hoped, that at the close of them, I should obtain my dismission, and be called to my everlasting home with God; and just now, I was above measure glad, on seeing the descent of the holy angels to conduct my spirit. But, on a sudden, they are stopped on yonder rock; for the united prayers of the Church to spare my life a few years longer, have prevailed over my most earnest requests, and changed the purpose of God with regard to me. Four years more I must remain on earth, and then, without sickness or pain, this frame shall be dissolved, and I enter into the joy of my Lord.'"

Columba's conversation usually aimed at turning the thoughts of men from earthly things, however great or desirable, to those more durable and solid. All that is recorded of him—and that is not a little—savours of heaven and of a heavenly turn of mind. His condescension, affa-

bility, and readiness to teach, were such, that he seemed never to be at a loss to make all times, and all places, and persons to suit his purposes. To every one he had something to say, by which he insinuated himself into their favour, and took the opportunity to edify him, in such a manner as best suited his emergency and capacity. If he were in the company of nobles and kings, he would give the conversation a tendency either to make them good, or to incline their hearts to do good to others; and he was never found making any other use but this, of the great influence he had acquired over mankind in general. "Meeting one day a prince of the Orkneys, at the palace of king Brude, he told the king that, some monks had lately sailed with a view of making discoveries in the northern seas, and begged he would strongly recommend them to the prince who was with him, in case they should happen to land in the Orkneys—they did so, and owed their lives to this recommendation of Columba."—But it is written—"all his saints are in thy hand"—in His preserving as well as fashioning hand. They are the clay, and He is the potter, and He makes them vessels of honour, prepared unto every good work. He fearfully and wonderfully made them as creatures. But they are His workmanship by another and a nobler creation—it is likewise written—"This people have I formed for myself: they shall show forth my praise."—how truly was this evinced in the devoted lives of these Irish saints of Iona.

Such expeditions of the monks of Iona are frequently mentioned by Adomnan; and we are informed that the Norwegians found *Irish monks in Iceland,* when they first discovered it, in the year 900, and there are still to be seen there Irish bells, croziers and shrines. But, the account which Bede gives of Columan and the other divines who

went, on certain occasions into England, is both curious and interesting:—"they instructed a certain number of the youths: (*e. g.* Aidan had charge of twelve,) they lived in the most plain and frugal manner, supporting themselves by the *labour of their hands*, and were solicitous only to improve the heart: except some cattle, they had no wealth: if they got any money from the rich, they immediately gave it to the poor: their houses were barely sufficient for their own accommodation; for they never pretended to lodge or entertain the rich, who had nothing to get from them when they came, but the *word of God*, preached in the Church. If the king, with five or six attendants, chose at any time to take a refreshment with them after the service was over, he must have contented himself with the plain and daily fare of the brethren." Bede adds, "that they brought religion at that time into such repute, that a clergyman or monk was every where received with joy, as a *servant of God*, that when they travelled the road, people ran to get their blessing; and that when they went to any village, which they only did when they had occasion to preach, baptize, or visit the sick, crowds gathered to hear them—in short, the cure of souls was their greatest concern." In speaking of St. Columba himself, Bede says:—"Whatever kind of person he himself was, this we know of him for certain, that he left successors distinguished for their great chastity, divine love, and strict attention to their rules of discipline; following indeed uncertain cycles in their computation of the time of the great festival (Easter), yet withal, diligently observing such works of piety and charity as they could find in the prophetic, evangelic, and apostolic writings."—All this further indicates the state of society and religion at that period.

Columba also commanded the respect even of kings by

speaking the truth, and the truth only, without at any time using idle words, compliments, or flattery. Aodh king of Ireland, took an opportunity of asking him, whether he thought he should be saved, "you have little chance of that," said Columba, "unless you expiate the errors of your past life by a speedy and sincere repentance, and by the exercise of good works for the future." In Columba were intimately united, holiness to the Lord, and usefulness to man. Such were the sanctity and usefulness of his conduct, as Odonellus relates, that, king Aidan not being able to find in it any thing that was either wrong or useless, had the curiosity to ask him, whether he had so much as any inward motion or propensity to sin? To this improper question Columba answered as became a saint, "that, like all men, he had such motions and propensities; but, that he would not take the whole world, with all its honours and pleasures, and consent to yield to one of them."—What will the opposers of the doctrine of original sin say to this?

It would be unjust to the character of Columba not to observe, that though his zeal was occasionally moved with indignation against enormous vices, and above all *clerical profaneness*, yet he was habitually a man of great meekness and sweetness of temper, who had, with God's help, brought all his passions into subjection, and ruled his tongue by the tightest reins. No one ever shewed greater affection and regard to such of the sacred order as lived and acted according to the spirit of their office. To them he seldom or ever spoke without using the most tender and endearing epithets, or calling them brother, son, or child, or blessed; or using some other expression to the same effect. But, when he heard of any of them being openly profane, or formal, and hypocritical in their profession; inattentive to their religious duties, or regardless of their autho-

rity, dignity and gravity becoming their sacred character; or countenancing or giving their presence to idle and vain amusements, though they should not otherwise share in them, he failed not to denounce against them, above all sinners, the heaviest judgments of heaven. Such was his sense of the dignity of the office, his love for the souls of men, and his zeal for the service of God, that he could never see an unworthy person in this office, without expressing the strongest indignation. Seeing once an unworthy priest officiate in celebrating the Eucharist, though he was not within his jurisdiction, he could not help being moved so far as to cry out, "Oh! what a combination of clean and unclean things is here! the *symbols* of the sacred oblation of Christ administered by wicked hands."

Even when out of his sight, his friends and acquaintance were always present to his mind; insomuch that if the wind but changed, he considered how that change might effect them, and consequently how he should pray or praise in regard to them.—"Fourteen days now has the wind been from the north since Cormac left us. The danger to which he is driven, far beyond the reach of land, must surely be extreme. Let us, my brethren, go all to the church, and earnestly intercede with God in his behalf." There with bended knees, and weeping eyes, and humble voice, he prayed to Him that rules the wind; and when it changed, he gratefully returned to render thanks.

When any one repented of his sins, no one could possibly shew more regard and tenderness for him than Columba. On the top of the eminence above his monastery, he one day sat, looking out anxiously for the appearance of a sail from Ireland. Dermot was near him, and to him he expressed his concern at not seeing a vessel

which he expected to arrive on that day, with a man who had fallen into some grievous sin, on board, and for which he now laboured under the sincerest sorrow and repentance. Dermot soon after told him that he perceived a sail making towards the port. "Then," said Columba, "let us quickly rise and meet the penitent; for, Christ himself receives the penitent." Fechnus landed; Columba ran to embrace him; mingled his tears of joy with the tears of sorrow shed by the other, while he thus addressed him:—"My son I beseech thee take comfort; the sins which thou hast committed are forgiven; for it is written, *a broken and a contrite heart God will not despise.*"—We beg here to remark, that, many mistakes have arisen from deviating by little and little from the language of revelation. Many errors might be prevented, and many rectified, if we could bring the parties to the very words the Holy Spirit useth. Let us endeavour to distinguish between Divine truth and men's explanations of it. Let us not be satisfied with the explanations of a pope of Rome, a Calvin, or an Arminius, or any other expounder, while we can go to the *Scripture* itself. "To the *law* and to the *testimony;* if they speak not according to this *word,* it is because there is no light in them."

Columba's charities were as unbounded, as the cheerfulness of countenance with which he bestowed them was said to have been truly angelic; and which shewed how much his soul was filled with that heavenly joy, which is the fruit of the Spirit, and the present portion of the *sons of God.* He was not only easy of access to all who came for either charity or instruction, but also affable and cheerful, as became one who was filled with so much inward joy and peace in believing; but so humble as to condescend to the meanest service by which he could do good, and even to take a share in grinding the corn, and other

manual labours of the monks. The distinction, or preference to which he was entitled, he never assumed, being always disposed to think less of himself than of others. Courted, visited, and loved by all the kings and petty princes of Scotland and Ireland; revered and almost adored by the great body of their people, who crowded the roads wherever he travelled, and brought their gifts to entertain him where he lodged; obeyed by hosts of monks in both kingdoms, and his company sought after by their bishops and clergy, who, without any mark of envy or emulation, acknowledged his vastly superior merit—what fuel was this to inflame his pride, if the last spark of it had not been quite extinguished! It ought, however, to be observed, that notwithstanding the Christian humility and modesty of Columba, none could be bolder in the discharge of his duty; "in doing which, he feared not the face of man. When, by imposition of hands, he constituted Aidan king, he not only told him his duty plainly, and charged him to observe it, and to teach his children, in the fear of God, to do the same; but also denounced the heaviest judgments against him and them, if they did not."

Columba was indeed a true minister of the Prince of Peace, and of that gospel which proclaims peace and good will to the children of men, and laboured for nothing so much as to bring the blessing of peace not only to families, but even to kingdoms. In the great Council of Drimceat in Ireland, he mediated so effectually between the Scottish and Irish kings, that both agreed to refer their claims to his decision. This he declined; but persuaded them to refer the matter to Colman, the son of Comgel, a man well versed in sacred and profane literature, and especially in the antiquities of Ireland. There was also nothing about which Columba was more anxious, and in which he was more successful, than in maintaining peace in all the

churches and religious societies under his care; nor was there anything that seemed to give him more concern, than the apprehension that this peace might one day be disturbed, by such—may we venture to say, trivial—disputes as those which afterwards took place, concerning the feast of Easter. Columba thus maintained the peace of the church in his day; and, with his dying breath, left it in charge to his disciples, to have peace among themselves.

For how fully he felt, that our time in the flesh is the only season in which we can glorify God, and serve our generation. What a treasure then is life to those who render it useful to others! And how concerned should we be to work while it is day, seeing the night cometh wherein no man can work! In this respect, may we not conclude, Columba must have felt that the saints below are more privileged than the saints above, and was also persuaded, that those who have entered their rest, would be willing, were it the pleasure of God, to come down and re-enter this vale of tears, to have the opportunities of usefulness we enjoy—to forgive injuries; visit and relieve the afflicted; spread the gospel; teach the ignorant; save souls from death, and hide a multitude of sins.

With pride, or pomp, or magnificence in a clergyman, Columba had no patience; nor could he see it without being moved with indignation, and denouncing its downfall. Observing one day, a man driving his carriage along the plain of Bres, in much state, and only intent upon his amusements, he asked who he was; and being told he was a rich clergyman, he replied, "he may be so now, and enjoy his amusement and pleasure, but he is a poor man, indeed, on the day on which he dies."

After what we have considered it necessary to say of St. Columba's life and character, it may be expected—at all events by his countrymen,—that something should be

added of his religious doctrine; and, it is most essential that this, if possible, should be clearly understood.

A man who had so much anxiety about the souls of others, we should naturally suppose to be faithful in declaring to them the whole counsel of God; and for this his early education, and unwearied perseverance in study in after life, rendered him particularly well qualified. His passion for studying the Scriptures, especially, was most intense, when the other parts of his ministerial duties allowed him to indulge in it. In this he was sometimes engaged for whole days and nights, exploring dark or difficult passages, accompanying his study and extraordinary application, with prayer and fasting. Hence Columba, and his disciples after him, for several generations, had a clearer and better knowledge of the gospel, than any of their contemporaries, and taught it to the people in all its purity; and, it has been justly observed, that until the end of the ninth century, Iona was the Rome of Scotland and of Ireland. We read in Scripture of "holding forth the Word of Life." The apostles did this supernaturally. They had received their commission immediately from God; and were preserved from all mistakes in delivering his counsel; and worked miracles in confirmation and in defence of it. Columba, his successors, and all faithful ministers, even unto the present day, did and still do this officially. Columba pretended to no original communications from God, no new discoveries, he derived what he published from the *scriptures*, and he called upon men, "to prove whether these things are so." Yet, his preaching was a divine ordinance—a work an angel might covet; the simple design of which was to hold forth the *Word of Life*. That Columba and his successors should have kept so perfectly clear of the errors, which began to be prevalent in their times, is the more

surprising to us, when we reflect upon the power and influence which the bishops of Rome were then so rapidly acquiring in the world; and Odonellus and other writers assert positively, that Columba, in the course of his travels, visited Rome; and which may be inferred from what we find in the office for his Festival, in which he is celebrated for having visited distant places, and of these the chief at the time was Rome. With the errors, however, of the Romish branch of the Church of Christ, neither he, nor his disciples, seem to have been in the least tainted. Instead of submitting to its spiritual tyranny, as we shall more clearly see as we proceed, they always withstood its encroachments and corruptions; and declared that only to be the counsel of God, which they found in the *scriptures*. It was only by proofs deduced from them that their doctrine was confirmed, and their conduct regulated.

The venerable Bede, with all his zeal for the Church of Rome, allows the divines of Hi, or Iona, to have possessed the highest knowledge of divinity; and acknowledges how much the churches throughout Britain were indebted to them, for their preaching the gospel so zealously, and accompanying it with such purity and simplicity of manners. At the same time, he laments how long they wanted the only thing which, in his opinion, they needed to be perfect —"the rites of the church, especially the right knowledge of the pasch and tonsure." Bede, in another passage, gives us an important, as well as an interesting account of a Synod held in the year 665, in the Abbey of Whitby, for settling, in a friendly conference, the question about the time of celebrating Easter:—"Thither came Osuin, king of Northumbria, learned in all the learning, and even in the language of the Scots, from whom he had taken baptism, with Colman the Bishop of Lindisfarn, one of Columba's family of Y. Thither too, came Alchfrid the

prince, with Wilfrid his tutor, and spiritual guide, who had imbued him with reverence for the Roman ritual; and Agilberct, an Augustinian bishop of the West Saxons. Colman was first called to speak in defence of his practice. He said he celebrated Easter as he had been taught by his superiors at Y, who had sent him thither as bishop, and as it was observed by his forefathers, men beloved of God. He added, that their practice was not to be lightly blamed, since we read that John, the beloved disciple, in all his churches used the same. But, for the authority of his own practice, he rested on St. Columba and his successors."

It is a curious historical fact, though not so generally known as it ought to be, that a large body of pastors and people in the isles and mountains of Scotland, like the Waldenses among the Alps, and the Syrian churches in India, maintained the worship of God in its simplicity, and the gospel in its purity for many generations, after they had been greatly corrupted in other parts of the world. Even after the family of Y had been expelled from Iona, the Highlands of Scotland were, beyond doubt, the seat of learning and religion, though in both respects, very far behind Ireland, with which they probably, had no longer much, if any, intercourse; this religion was not derived from the Church of Rome, as many suppose and too readily admit, as appears by their differing from it not only as to the time of keeping Easter, but also in more important particulars. Hi, or Iona was at the time Bede wrote, still a most eminent seminary for all kinds of learning, and a nursery of divines for planting churches; and it is beyond dispute, that from thence they were still constantly sent forth to establish churches and seminaries, in various parts of the world. But in the ninth century, came forth the hordes of Norsemen, who ravaged and laid waste the whole of the coasts of Western Europe. During those awful

times, neither the insular site of Iona, nor the sanctity of the family of Columba, were any protection against the terrible heathen Vikingr, nor did Lindisfarn afford security even to the bones of St. Cuthbert. The Irish annals record in quick succession—the ravaging of Icolumkill, in 794—the Hebrides laid waste by the Danes in 798—Icolumkill burnt by the Gentiles in 801-2—the family of Y slain by the Gentiles in 806. Thus, that light was extinguished, which had shed the blessings of pure religion and civilization over Northern Britain, its isles, and other parts of the world; and the harassed successors of Columba, found at last uncertain shelter in the monasteries of Ireland, the father-land of their great founder. We trust our readers now perceive, how superior ecclesiastical history is to any other, when it can be obtained from pure sources.

In order also to shew what had been the effects of the cruelties and merciless depredations of these terrible barbarians upon England, we have to request the reader's attention to the following remarks, to be found in Bishop Short's History of the Church of England, to which we have already alluded:—"The great benefit which Alfred conferred on his country, beyond the military talent which he displayed in his wars with the Danes, consisted in the introduction of literature and the establishment of laws. The inroads of these northern hordes had overturned all institutions which might educate the inhabitants, and directed the attention of the English to warlike, rather than peaceful studies; and even churchmen had become so ignorant, that few understood the services which they used, or could translate a Latin letter. The difficulties against which Alfred had to struggle were enormous; he had to discover the advantages of literature, and his want of it, and to teach himself even to read, and that at a time when books were scarce, and when most of the libraries

which had been formerly collected were destroyed. When he came to the throne, he assembled around him, by great munificence, all the literary men whom he could find, and his first steps shewed him how much his countrymen had gone back in knowledge, since they were now unable to read those books which their own ancestors had written. The Latin tongue was now generally unknown; and to obviate this difficulty Alfred translated many books into the language of his country. In presenting Bœtius to the Saxons, he introduced many moral lessons and sentiments of his own, for our knowledge of which we are indebted to Mr. Turner; he published, too, in the same manner, Orosius and Bede; and that he might better instruct his higher clergy, he put forth a translation of the Pastoral of Gregory. Besides these, he appears to have been employed on different works and translations, and his general knowledge seems to have extended to many other subjects, as architecture, ship-building, and jewellery. For the education of his son Ethelweard, he established a public school, in which the young nobility were brought up together with the heir of the crown; and so greatly did this and his other institutions raise the character of England for civilization, that Athelstan had the credit of educating in our island three kings of foreign countries, Alan of Bretagne, Louis of France, and Haco of Norway. Nor must it be forgotten that Alfred sent an embassy to the Syrian Christians of India, whose very existence has only been re-ascertained by modern communications." The reader will perceive as we proceed that learning had by no means, during these calamitous times, declined in Ireland as it had in England; and that Christianity had still, though so fearfully assailed, retained in the former, in a great measure, its primitive scriptural purity.

We must apologize to the reader for thus anticipating

events; but, Columba, although he never departed from the purity of scripture, seems to have been at great pains to set forth his doctrines in such a form as was most likely to captivate the attention of a people who were much more accustomed to indulge their imagination than to exercise their judgment. Instances of his accommodating his representations of Divine truth to the circumstances and capacities of his hearers, may be found in his Life by Adomnan. His followers, in the first period of their institution, had many as well as extraordinary trials to encounter, and had to exhibit to the world, a higher degree of sanctity and mortification than other men. They, as well as their successors, had therefore to be cheered and comforted with higher rewards and brighter prospects. "*The saints shall rise first,*" was a text which naturally suggested a prior resurrection to those good men to whom the appellation of saints was more peculiarly, though not exclusively, appropriated; and to have a share in that resurrection was the first object of ambition, and the promise of it a source of special consolation. Besides this, many were, in those barbarous times, called forth to suffer and to die for the cause of God, and needed every help to make them ready to encounter death, in all shapes, even with cheerfulness. The innocent expedient was therefore devised of assigning to the martyrs a separate burying-place, where their sacred dust was never to be contaminated with that of ordinary men.

No one knew better than Columba that all excellent things require application and diligence in attainment, and that he who rationally expects success must be *determined,* and bring his mind to exertion and endurance. What pains and patience are necessary to attain even human learning! and is Divine wisdom the prey of the idle and careless? Must we labour for that meat that

perisheth; and can we, without labour, obtain that meat which endureth unto everlasting life? No, says our Saviour, even in the very passage in which he speaks of "giving it" —where it is obvious, therefore, that the giving is not opposed to diligence, but desert.—How readeth thou? "Strive to enter in at the strait gate." "Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life." But take those who, in their religion, know nothing of the privations and hardships of the soldier; nothing of the unbending alacrity of the racer; who never redeemed their time; whose day is only distinguished from their night by the substitution of sloth for sleep; who exercise no self-denial; who never mortify the deeds of the body; whose souls do not follow hard after God—would it not be perfectly absurd for one of these to say as St. Paul—evidently Columba's example in all things—did, "if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead."

We know that angels have confided to them the delightful task of ministering to the heirs of salvation, and of conducting the spirits of the just to heaven; and Satan being the prince of the power of the air, their way must be through his dominions; so that a conflict between two such opposite powers may naturally be supposed. By an obvious and lively figure of speech, an animated preacher might, on the death of a friend, with whose character he was acquainted, represent this conflict as if he actually saw it, and describe its probable issue. Columba, whose fancy, like that of his countrymen in general, was lively, sometimes sat thus, as it were, in judgment on the dead, in order to excite the living to virtue. When saints, after so many dangers, were thus supposed to be brought to heaven, it was natural for the Church on earth to celebrate the triumph, and to rejoice at the happy transit and deliverance of a departed member of their body: this, indeed, seems to have been the practice

in the Church from the earliest periods. Accordingly, on such occasions, Columba convened his monks, sung psalms, and administered the Eucharist, and praised God for his mercy to the soul of a brother.

"As the brethren were one day preparing to go forth to the works and labour assigned them, Columba told them that they were to keep it as a holiday; to prepare for the celebration of the Eucharist, and to make some addition to their little dinner, as on the Lord's day, out of respect for the soul of St. Columban, bishop of Leinster, whose soul was the night before carried by choirs of angels to the paradise of God, beyond the starry heavens; and as his life had been remarkable for sanctity and usefulness, this, as it were his birthday, was for the future to be observed as a holiday, as oft as the year returned."

Again—as angels are ministering spirits, and the saints said to be after death "*as angels*," Columba represented the departed saints as being tenderly concerned for their surviving friends, and gladly employed to perform the office of angels to their souls, at the time of their departure from the body—"Happy, happy woman," said Columba, on the occasion of the death of a pious woman, "this moment the angels convey thy soul to paradise!"—Next year her husband, who was equally pious, died also. "What joy must it give him now at his departure," said Columba, "to be met by the soul of his wife, together with holy angels, to bring him to the mansions of the blessed." Death, attended with the lively belief of such pleasing circumstances, had in it little to be feared—it was, indeed, stripped of its terrors.

Milton, in his "Paradise Lost," has attempted to give us some idea of those glorious beings, angels! But, when we come to reflect upon the immensity of *space*—upon the number of suns and worlds, similar to ours, which

perform their constant revolutions, in such perfect harmony, in it—upon the vast magnitude of those suns and worlds, as well as of the moons or satellites attendant upon their motions—and, when we also endeavour to imagine, what must be the greatness of the wisdom and power of that *Almighty Being* who formed them all; and said unto them —thus far shalt thou go, and no farther—we begin, in some measure, to conceive, though most imperfectly, what the angels, who stand ready and delighted to obey his behests, must be! And like unto them, according to the *word of truth*, are, and will be, the spirits of those who have died, and will die in the Lord. Let us likewise imagine, that *there* lies in the rock before us, *He* who made it. *There* are sealed up the lips which said, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." *There* are closed, the eyes that always beamed compassion; and wept for human woe. *There*, cold are the hands which were laid on little children, to bless them, and delivered the widow's son to his mother. *There* lies, the life of the world; and the hope of Israel. He was fairer than the children of men—He was the image of the invisible God—He went about doing good—He was rich, and, for our sakes, became poor!—let us imagine, that we see the two Marys arriving at the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection—their sensibilities all alive—they are alone in a garden belonging to another—the earth is reeling under them—the guards are fleeing—it is early in the morning, and the remaining darkness is rendering more visible and awful the divine messenger sitting at the door of the tomb—his countenance as lightning, and his raiment white as snow! But, says the angel to the naturally terrified women;—"You have nothing to apprehend from me. He is my Master, as well as your Saviour. I serve Him whom ye seek; and, having attended His resur-

rection, I now announce it to you. He is not here. He is risen, as he said—step forward—come, see the place where the Lord lay."

In reflecting upon what has just been said, and upon the final destiny of man; and, whilst endeavouring to form some idea of the degree of perfection to which he is to attain, when the soul shall again be united to the body; Sir David Brewster's observations, in the "North British Review," upon the destiny of the universe, came most vividly to our recollection, rendered doubly interesting by Professor Mädler of Dorpat's presumed discovery of a *central sun!*—Well might our Saviour say—What would it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?—"But while all the phenomena in the heavens indicate a law of progressive creation, in which revolving matter is distributed into suns and planets, there are indications in our system that a period has been assigned for its duration, which sooner or later it must reach. The medium which fills universal space—whether it be luminiferous ether, or arise from indefinite expansion of planetary atmospheres—must retard the bodies which move in it, even though it were 360,000 million of times more rare than atmospheric air; and with its time of revolution gradually shortening, the satellite must return to its planet, the planet to its sun, and the sun to its primeval nebula. The fate of our system, thus deduced from mechanical laws, must be the fate of all others. Motion cannot be perpetuated in a resisting medium; and where there exists disturbing forces, there must be primarily derangement, and ultimate ruin. From the great central mass, heat may again be summoned to exhale nebulous matter;—chemical forces may again produce motion, and motion may again generate systems; but, as in the recurring catastrophes which have desolated our

earth, the great first cause must preside at the dawn of each cosmical cycle—and, as in the animal races, which were successfully reproduced, new celestial creations of a nobler form of beauty, and of a higher order of permanence, may yet appear in the sidereal universe.—"Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, therefore, the old shall not be remembered." "The new heavens and the new earth shall remain before me." "Let us look, then, according to his promise, for the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

As Columba rejoiced at the prospect of death, so also did his disciples. Odonellus tells us, that St. Odhran, one of the twelve who accompanied him from Ireland, finding himself ill soon after his landing, he expressed a desire that his soul might be soon with Christ, and that his body might be the first pledge that should consecrate Iona to his companions. "My dear Odhran," said Columba, "shall have both his wishes; and they who shall hereafter ask for my tomb, shall next inquire, Where is Odhran's?" Accordingly, "Relic Orain," is still shewn to strangers.

We have seen that Columba had some time before mentioned, that in compliance with the prayers of the churches, four years had been added to the appointed number of his days. During the last of these years, he dropped several hints to his monks of his being to die in the course of it. One day, in particular, in the month of May, being unable to walk as far as the west end of the island, *where the monks were at work*, he went thither in a little car, as he then told them, for the last time—he expressed great satisfaction at the prospect of his death, which was now near, and that it would not interfere with the paschal solemnity, nor damp their festivities. Seeing them greatly afflicted with this hint of his near departure, he gave them

all the consolation in his power before he left them. After having done so, and having all the island before him to the east, he solemnly implored the blessing of God upon the ground, and upon all its inhabitants; adding that it would go well with them while they feared God. Eight days after this, Columba said to Dermot, who was in tears at the prospect of losing his kind and indulgent master, at the same time charging him to say nothing of what he was going to tell him till after his death:—"this day, in the sacred volume, is called the Sabbath, that is, *rest*, and will be indeed a sabbath to me; for it is to me the last day of this toilsome life; the day on which I am to *rest* from all my labour and trouble: for, on this sacred night of the Lord, at the midnight hour, I go the way of my fathers. So my gracious Lord hath vouchsafed to intimate; and all my desire and joy is to be with him." He afterwards ascended an eminence above his monastery, where he stood; and lifting both his hands to heaven, he prayed God to bless it and make it prosper. From thence he returned to his closet, and having spent part of his time there in transcribing the Psalter, he came to that passage of the 34th Psalm, where it is said, "*they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing*," he said, "here I come to the end of a page, and to a very proper part for me to stop at; for the following words, ("*come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord*") will better suit my successor than me. I will therefore leave it to Baithen to transcribe them."

Columba then went to evening service in the church; and, on returning home, he sat down on his bed, and gave it in charge to Dermot to deliver the following words to his disciples, as his last. "My dying charge to you, my dear children is, that you live in peace, and sincerely love one another. And if you do this, as becometh saints, the

God, who comforts and upholds the good, will help you; and I, now that I am going to dwell with him, will request that you may have both a sufficient supply of the necessaries of the present transitory life, and a share in that everlasting bliss which he has prepared for those who observe his holy laws."

After this he was silent until the bell rung for prayers at midnight; when hastily rising, and going to the Church, he arrived there before any one else, and kneeled down at the communion table* to pray. "When Dermot, who did not walk, or rather run so fast, approached the church, he"—according to Adomnan's account—"found it, (as did those who followed him) all illumined, and, as it were, filled with a heavenly glory, or angelic light; which, on his entering the door, immediately vanished. Upon which

* The word used by Dr. Smith in his Life of St. Columba is *altar*; but who can now prove from manuscripts, or in any other way, that either St. Patrick or St. Columba ever thought such an appendage as an altar necessary for the numerous churches they built? Who can now prove that the apostles or disciples of Christ used what is understood to be an *altar*, when they partook of or administered the Lord's Supper? Let the reader refer back to what St. Columba desired his monks to do when he announced to them the death of St. Columban, Bishop of Leinster,—they were to prepare to celebrate the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, and *to make some addition to their little dinner, as they were to keep the day as a holiday*. Where in the Scriptures is the use of altars on such occasions enjoined? When Romanists can shew this, then shall we believe that the beautiful snow-white altar which stands or stood in the Cathedral of Iona, was placed there by St. Columba, or by any of his immediate successors. There are, certainly, in many parts of Ireland, what are called in Irish Crom-liagh, which signifies a stone placed crooked, or in an inclining posture. Tradition has it that these were *Druid altars*, and were given this inclining posture to admit of the blood of the victims flowing more freely off them.—Some suppose that the Irish word is derived from the Hebrew *Cœrumluach*, or a devoted table. The Hebrews, in Exodus, are commanded not to build their altars of hewn stone; and it is curious to find these Druid altars so like what we may suppose Noah's to have been, on which he offered up sacrifice after he left the ark.

Dermot cried, with a lamentable voice, "O my father, where art thou? my father, where art thou?" and groping, without waiting for the lamps, he found St. Columba lying on the ground, as if in prayer. Dermot, attempting to raise him up a little, sat beside him, supporting the Saint's head upon his bosom till the lights came in; when the brethren, seeing their father dying, raised all at once a most doleful cry. Upon this the saint, whose soul had not yet departed, lifted up his eyes, and as I was told, (says Adomnan) by those who were present, looked around him with inexpressible cheerfulness and joy of countenance; seeing, no doubt, the holy angels who were come to meet his spirit. He then attempted, with Dermot's assistance, to raise his right hand to bless the monks who were about him; and his voice having failed, he made with his hand alone, the motion which he used in giving his benediction: after which he immediately breathed out his spirit; but still retaining the tranquil smile, the brightness, and fresh look of his countenance, so that he had the appearance, not of one who was dead, but only sleeping. After the spirit had departed, (continues Adomnan) when the morning hymns were ended, the sacred body was carried from the Church to the abode of the Brethren, amidst the loud singing of psalms; and kept for three days and three nights, which were spent in the sweet praises of God. The venerated remains of our holy and blessed patron, wrapped in fair linen, and put in a coffin prepared for it, were then interred with all due respect, to rise in luminous and eternal glory on the day of the resurrection. This, then, was the close of our illustrious patron's life, this his entrance on his recompense; who now, according to the scriptures, admitted as a companion to saints in their eternal triumphs, joined with apostles and prophets, numbered with the company of the thousands arrayed in white,

of the saints who have washed their robes in the Lamb's blood, follows the Lamb for his leader, a spotless virgin free from every stain, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, who, with the Father, hath all honour, power, praise, and glory, and dominion, for ever, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end—Amen.

It might be deemed by some, in the present day, more judicious for us to have stopped here and joined in the *Amen;* but Adomnan also gives a beautiful and classical description of two extraordinary visions which, he says, were seen on the night in which Columba died, and which we do not think we would be justified in withholding from the reader—one of them by a holy man in Ireland, named Lugud Mac Talcain, who had mentioned next morning that Columba was dead; and the other by a number of fishermen who had been that night fishing in Glen Fende, from some of whom Adomnan had the relation when a boy. The purport of both is this—"that on the night, and at the hour on which Columba, 'the pillar of so many churches,' had departed (9th of June, A. D. 597) a pillar of fire, which illumined the sky with a light brighter than that of the mid-day sun, was seen to rise from Iona, while loud and sweet-sounding anthems of innumerable choirs of angels, ascending with his soul, were distinctly heard; and that when this column reached the heavens, the darkness again returned, as if the sun had suddenly set at noon." Such lively pictures of the opinions of former times will, at least, not displease the right-minded, nor appear insignificant to the good and pious man. The cold sceptic may probably smile at the credulity of former ages; and, like some of the over-learned of the present day, venture, in their fancied superior wisdom, and high attainments, to deny that such persons as St. Patrick, St. Kevin, St. Columba, &c. &c. ever existed; but, credulity is more

favourable to the happiness of mankind, and to the interests of society, than scepticism. In the history of all ages and nations we read of such extraordinary appearances in certain stages of society. Shall we then refuse all credit to human testimony; or shall we allow that a kind Providence may have adapted itself to a dark state of society, and given such visible and striking proofs of the connection and communication between this world and a world of spirits, as may be properly withheld from more enlightened times, which may less need them and, perhaps, less deserve them?

We have been most anxious, in the course of our inquiries, to discover if the early Christians could have had an idea that there was such a place as that in which deluded papists are made to believe, that souls are purged by fire from carnal impurities, before they are allowed into the presence of God, and through which the Romish priesthood pretend to be able to insure to any one a quick and pleasant passage for money paid to them, but we have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be evident, from what we have just laid before our readers, that neither St. Columba, nor his enlightened companions imagined that there was any such place as a Purgatory. In order, however, to give the reader the best account we can find of the rise and progress of this, to the Romish priesthood profitable, yet fearful contrivance, we shall make another extract from Bishop Short's Sketch of the History of the Church of England, upon Prayers for the Dead and Purgatory:—"To pray for the dead was the dictate of human nature, and the practice of the early church;" (this is what we have been unable to ascertain. The bishop refers to Bingham's Ant. vi. 671.) "and no reasonable Christian will blame Dr. Johnson for the cautious manner in which he mentions his mother in his prayers; but in

the hands of the Church of Rome this feeling was soon directed to the unscriptural object of delivering the souls of departed friends from purgatory, and the practice converted into a source of profit to the priesthood. The history of this doctrine of purgatory is as follows:—'About the middle of the third century, Origen, among other Platonic conceits, vented this:—that the faithful (the Apostles themselves not excepted) would, at the day of judgment, pass through a purgatorial fire,' to endure a longer or shorter time, according to their imperfections." "In this conceit, directly contrary to many express texts of Scripture," he was followed by some great men in the Church; and "St. Augustine began to doubt whether this imagined purgation were not to be made in the interval between death and the resurrection, at least as to the souls of the more imperfect Christians. Towards the end of the fifth century Pope Gregory undertook to assert this problem;—four hundred years after, Pope John the eighteenth, or, as some say, the nineteenth, instituted a holyday, wherein he required all men to pray for the souls in purgatory. At length the cabal at Florence, 1439, turned the dream into an article of faith." "The doctrine of a purgatory, of some sort, has been entertained by heathens, Mahometans, and Jews, but there is no necessary connection between praying for the dead and the belief in purgatory. The Greek Church, for instance, prays for the dead, without admitting an idea of purgatory. Prayers and oblations for the dead were probably established in England from the first (in the primitive church of the Britons?) and a short form of prayer to that effect is inserted in the canons of Cloveshoo;* with regard to the latter doctrine,

* Lord, according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to his soul, and for thine infinite pity vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints. *Johnson's Can. pref.* xix. *and* 747, 37.

the Saxon homilists generally refer to the awards of a final judgment, though traditional notices exist, in which there appears to be at first an indistinct, but afterwards more clear reference to purgatory. Bede seems to have entertained an idea of the same sort; and Alcuin, in common with many others, supposed that the general conflagration of the world would form a purgatorial fire, through which the souls which escaped unsinged would pass into the abodes of bliss. But later writers, and among the rest Alfred, adopted the popular notions of purgatory, which were still very different from the opinions on that subject established as articles of faith by the councils of Florence and Trent. Departed souls, between death and their final judgment, were divided into four distinct places; the perfect were conveyed to heaven; the less pure to paradise; the impure, who died in penitence, were consigned to purgatorial flames; and the impenitent to hell."

Besides those named, Bishop Short refers us to other writers whom we may consult as to the doctrine of a purgatory; and we are aware that those who are styled the Fathers, entertained at different times very unsettled opinions respecting the state of the soul after its separation from the body. At one time, St. Augustine thought that it is placed in an abode of peace, until it be re-united to its incorruptible body. St. Bernard believed that it is received into heaven, where it contemplates the humanity of Jesus Christ, but not his divinity, which it will not enjoy till after the resurrection; whereas, in his sermons, he assures us that it enters immediately into the plenitude of celestial felicity. We have seen what were Origen's "conceits" about the middle of the third century. But are we not thus taught, how vain it is for poor fallible creatures, to attempt even to conjecture as to what is the divine will?—we must be satisfied with what we find in the *Word of God;* and

when we see that we cannot unriddle, it is surely wisdom to trust in it. But when we find that always erring mortals had allowed themselves, at such early periods of the Christian era, to be carried off by the wind of such "frivolities," though dignified with the name of doctrines, we need be the less surprised that such multitudes should have been captivated with Mahomet's promises of enjoyments. His paradise is a land of musk, and of the purest wheaten flour, watered by the river of life, and the Acawtar, another stream which rises under the roots of Tuba, or the tree of happiness. Streams springing up in grottos of ambergris, and bordered with aloes, murmur beneath golden palm-trees. On the shores of a quadrangular lake, stand a thousand goblets made of stars, out of which the souls predestined to felicity imbibe the crystal wave. All the elect, seated on silken carpets at the entrance of their tents, eat the terrestrial globe, reduced by Allah into a wonderful cake. A number of eunuchs, and seventy-two black eyed damsels, set before them, in three hundred dishes of gold, the fish Nun and the ribs of the buffalo Balaam. The angel Israfil sings, without ceasing, the most enchanting songs; the immortal virgins with their voices accompanying his strains; and the souls of virtuous poets, lodged in the throats of birds that are perched upon the trees of happiness, join the celestial choir. Meanwhile the crystal bells suspended in the golden palm-trees are melodiously agitated by a breeze which issues from the throne of God. (See the Coran and the Arabic poets).

The elysium of the heathens could boast of nothing to be compared with Mahomet's paradise; for what rewards for virtue were those banquets and dances, the everlasting duration of which would be sufficient to constitute one of the greatest torments of Tartarus? Or how to be compared with it were the enjoyments anticipated by the worshippers

of Woden, the deified Saxon, the father of Thor, with whom the warlike Norsemen, when translated to heaven, hoped and believed that, in his halls, they were to be for ever drinking ale out of the skulls of their enemies overcome, after deeds of the most hardy bloodshed, in battle. The scriptural rewards which Christianity promises to the virtuous, and the punishments with which it threatens the guilty, produce, even at the first glance, a conviction of their *truth*. The heaven and hell of the Christian are not devised after the manners or customs of any particular race of men, but are founded on the general ideas that are adapted to all nations, and to all classes of society. What can be more simple, and yet more sublime, than the truths conveyed in these few words :—"the felicity of the righteous in a future life, will consist in the full possession of God; the misery of the wicked will arise from a knowledge of the perfections of the Deity, and from being for ever deprived of their enjoyment." St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, observes :—"Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought: But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden *wisdom*, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But, as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." But to proceed.

We are told, that the bones of Columba were afterwards removed from Iona to Down, in Ulster, and buried in one grave with those of St. Patrick and St. Bridget.

Having been—we hope not unnecessarily—particular in describing the monastic remains still to be seen at Glenda-

lough, in Ireland, and at Peel, in the Isle of Man, it is deemed requisite to conclude this chapter with a few remarks respecting those of Iona; and which, like most of the former, evidently partake more of a period when Popery was in the ascendant, than of the times when St. Kevin or St. Columba lived.

Iona, or I-colm-kill, as it is now called, and where of old the archives of Scotland, and many valuable manuscripts, &c. were kept (some of which are said to have been removed to Ireland, and some of them to the Scotch College of Douay, in France; but, a considerable part, we are likewise told, were destroyed at the Reformation), is three miles long and one broad; its shores are flat, whilst the middle rises into hills; the west side is very barren and rocky. There is but one village upon it; and not far from it are the ruins of a *Nunnery*, dedicated to St. Oran. The east side of the roof of the church is still entire. On the floor is the tomb of the last prioress, with an inscription. "Relig Ouran," or the burying-place of Oran, is the large enclosure where the kings of Scotland, Ireland, and of the Isles, and their descendants were interred, in three chapels, containing, as the chronicles, or manuscripts which speak of them say, the remains of forty-eight Scottish monarchs, from Fergus II. to Macbeth; and inscribed "Tumulus Regum Scotiæ." The next was inscribed, "Tumulus Regum Hiberniæ," and contained four Irish monarchs. The third, "Tumulus Regum Norwegiæ," and contained remains of eight Norwegian princes or viceroys of the isles; what n[illegible] however, is remaining of these, is of a roundish form, arched within, but the inscriptions are totally obliterated. The space is filled with grave-stones, which are now so overgrown with weeds, that few or none of them can be seen. The belief in those days universally entertained in the following prophecy of St. Columba,

as translated by Dr. Smith, induced even kings and princes to select this consecrated ground as a receptacle for their remains:—

"Seven years before that awful day,
When time shall be no more,
A watery deluge will o'er sweep
Hibernia's mossy shore.

"The green-clad Isla, too, shall sink;
While with the great and good,
Columba's happy Isle will rear
Her towers above the flood."

A popular belief has for ages obtained, that Iona will yet recover its ancient splendour; and which is founded on the following verse ascribed to St. Columba:—

"An I mo chridhe, I mo ghraidh
An aite guth manaich bidh gaum ba;
Ach mun tig an saoghal gu crich
Bithidh I mar a bha."

This has been likewise thus translated by Dr. Smith:—

"O sacred dome, and my beloved abode!
Whose walls now echo to the praise of God;
The time shall come when lauding monks shall cease,
And lowing herds here occupy their place:
But better ages shall hereafter come,
And praise re-echo in this sacred dome."

The first part of this prophecy was literally fulfilled for ages, till a Duke of Argyle caused the sacred ground to be enclosed with a sufficient wall; before then, even the cathedral was sometimes used as a penn for cattle. This ancient structure is built in the form of a cross, 115 feet by 23; transept 70 feet; the pillars of the choir have their capitals charged with scripture pieces. Most of the walls are built with granite. But, it should be here observed that, according to Mr. Petrie's judicious conclusions, drawn from the results of his researches, no churches

appear to have been anciently erected in Ireland (and the reader should remember that, for 700 years after the death of St. Columba, all the abbots of Hy in succession were Irishmen,) either of the circular, the octagonal, or the cross form, as in Italy and Greece; we may therefore very fairly ascribe the erection of this cathedral to the monks of a period when Popery was in the ascendant, and when the Culdees had no longer shelter under the monastic roofs of Iona. In the churchyard, is a fine cross of a single piece of granite, 14 feet high, 22 broad, and 10 inches thick. There is a cave in the south point of the island, formed out of snow white marble; so that what is now called the *altar* of St. Columba, was evidently made by these monks of marble procured at their own door, and not brought from Italy, as has by some been supposed. Some of this marble is spotted with green and black, and is very beautiful, but rather too hard for a common tool. The green smooth nodules of Steatites, called I-colm-kill pebbles, are found no where else in the islands, or in Great Britain. But this truly interesting islet, is becoming daily more and more the resort for tourists; influenced by as various as strange notions and feelings respecting it; but, how few, if any of them, have an idea of what it was in the time of St. Columba and his successors; or of the nature of the Christianity which was then diffused from it and Ireland, throughout the world. We, no doubt influenced by the fruits of our laborious researches, and the impressions they have left upon our minds, cannot but look upon it as sacrilege, that the present Duke of Argyle should have given a site to a doubly dissenting *Free Church*, the name it has so appropriately adopted, in Iona, in the ancient abode of the "Family of Hy or *Y*, as the Irish chroniclers loved to call it."

The reader's attention ought now to be particularly directed to the ancient granite cross, just mentioned; as it is remarkable that near to the ruinous cathedral in Glendalough, and to those of several other churches in Ireland—near to that within the walls of Peel Castle, and in the churchyard of Kirk Bradan, &c. in the Isle of Man—near to the old church in Cornwall, called Parranzabuloe, which was hid under sand for at least nine hundred years—near to Kirk Michael parish church in the Isle of Man, (but it is supposed not to have always stood there) and close to the tomb of the excellent bishop Wilson, whose character, in many respects, resembled that of Columba, there are crosses of a form quite different from those usually to be seen in, or near to what are, or were *certainly* Roman Catholic places of worship or interment; the former being evidently of a much more ancient date than the latter. We must, however, as a concluding instance, mention the granite cross of Finglas, allowed to be, perhaps, the most ancient in Ireland. Finglas is reputed to have been the residence of St. Patrick; and tradition has it, that he there blessed a well, to which, even unto the present day, are attributed many virtues in the healing of diseases, &c. He is also said to have prophesied that Finglas should yet become the capital of Ireland. To commemorate these and other important benefits thus conferred, a cross was erected in this village, at a very remote period, to the memory of St. Patrick; and so highly was it venerated, that two baronies, Upper and Nether Cross, were named after this monument. When Cromwell's army was marching to the siege of Drogheda, they passed through Finglas, and observing the cross, they sacrilegiously cast it down and broke it. The people of the parish, anxious to preserve it from farther violation, secreted it, by burying it in sacred

ground; the remembrance of this having been done being, however, preserved by tradition among the people of Finglas, led to its recovery in the year 1816, and to its being again set up, after it had been thus concealed for a period of one hundred and sixty-eight years. It, like that of the celebrated Clonmacnoise, is a raised cross upon the surface of a circle; the stone now appears to be a good deal decomposed, leaving only indistinct indications of figures, by which we can still imagine we can trace serpents, &c. as if it had been intended to represent those venomous reptiles, which St. Patrick is said to have banished not only from Ireland, but also from the Isle of Man. When this interesting cross was dug up, its shaft was found to be broken in two, evidently, and according to the tradition, by the violence of Cromwell's ignorantly bigoted soldiers. The parts were, however, carefully reunited by iron cramps and the entire cross once more erected near to where it was found. An antiquarian will be struck with these coincidences, and also be surprised to find that these crosses are all standing in places, where the glad-tidings of salvation, were first proclaimed to the people by Ireland's Saints, or by *Irishmen!* and who certainly never bent the knee, but in adoration of a Triune God—the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

SECTION IV.

"The Irish soldiers hold the battle-axe with one hand, the thumb being stretched along the handle to direct the blow; from which neither the helmet can defend the head, nor the iron mail the rest of the body. Whence it happens, that the whole thigh of a soldier, though ever so well cased in mail, is cut through by one blow of the axe; the leg falling on one side of the horse, and the dying man on the other."—GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

BEFORE Columba died, he had put his chief seminary in Iona, into such a state, that he was enabled to look forward with confidence towards its future glory and fame. His successors, his own and their disciples, accordingly supported its credit for many ages; and continued to supply, in conjunction with Ireland, the nations with learned and pious teachers.* It appears that one of them, Columbanus, even in St. Columba's time, had paved the way for them into France, afterwards into Germany, and at last into Italy; into which countries they poured in such numbers, that both Ypes and St. Bernard compared them to hives of bees, or to a spreading flood. Wherever they went they disseminated learning and true religion, and they seem to have done infinitely more than any other men in Europe, towards the revival of both, when they were at the lowest ebb.

Foreign and Romish writers, accustomed to distinguish monks by their different orders, speak of the disciples of Columba in the same manner, and call them by different names, such as, "Ordo Apostolicus," (Gesner); "Ordo Divi Columbæ;" "Congregatio Columbina," (Colgan);

* See Appendix, No. 5.

and "Ordo pulchræ societatis," (Ware); but, they themselves seem to have assumed no other name than that of "Famuli Dei, or servants of God;" or in their own language, Gille-De, which was Latinized into Keledeus; whence the English name of Culdees. Thus Iona continued long to be chief monastery, and its abbots the heads of all monasteries and congregations of the followers of Columba, in Scotland, Ireland, and in other countries, and to which all its bishops were subject.

In the Appendix to Dr. Smith's Life of St. Columba, we find what follows:—"Joceline (vit. S. Pat. c. 89.) says that Columkille founded 100 monasteries. Hanmer, (in Chron. p. 43, &c.) Ussher, and others, say the same. Odonellus (iii. 42.) says, that of monasteries and churches together he founded 300, partly in Ireland, and partly in Scotland. A list is given of 56 monasteries and churches founded by St. Columba in Ireland. To these, says Colgan, may be added almost all the other churches in Tirconnell, many of those of Lower Connaught; and all the churches of which we find his disciples had the charge, as Innis-cail, Innis Mhuiredhich, Port-Lomain, Teach-Earnain, &c.

"Of the monasteries and churches founded by St. Columba in Scotland, no particular account can be given, as the records of them have not been preserved. We can only say in general, that he planted churches in all the Western Isles, and in all the territory of the ancient Scots and northern Picts, and some even beyond them. Colgan and other authors say, that he founded the Church of Dunkeld, the monastery of Inch-colm in the Forth, and the monastery of Govan on the Clyde. Adomnan, besides the chief monastery of Iona, mentions several more in the Western Isles, such as that of Achaluing, in Ethica, Himba or Hinba, and Elennaomh; also Kill-Diun, or

Dimka, at Lochava, (or Lochow). Most of our parishes still bear the names of his disciples, and tell who was their founder; and the vast number of places, whose names begin with kill, shews how thick our churches were anciently planted; so that there is much reason to believe that the largest number ascribed to Columba is not above the mark. And though only an abbot, he had the singular privilege of exercising, (as did his successors) a jurisdiction over all their bishops, being primate of all their churches. "Pictorum et Scotorum Primas;" Colgan, p. 498. Notkerus Balbulus, who ranks Columba *almost* with the first apostles, calls him also "Primate of all the Irish bishops," (omnium Hiberniensium-episcoporum Primas; Martyral, 9 Jun.) which the author of the life of St. Farran, (Colgan, Trias, p. 463,) says he was made at the great Council of Drimkeat. His successors, the abbots of Iona, seem for a considerable time to have had the same pre-eminence in Ireland as well as in Scotland. The acts of a synod of the clergy of Ireland, at which Adomnan presided in 695, are called "the canons of Adomnan;" (Colgan, p. 665.) and in 925, Maolbride seems to have had equal authority, as may be inferred from the annals of the Quat. Magistri. ad ann. 925. But the fame of Columba, and the veneration for his name, extended much farther than Britain and Ireland. Adomnan (iii. 23.) observes, that though Columba lived in a small remote island of the British ocean, yet God had done him the honour to make his name renowned, not only through all Britain and Ireland, but through Spain, France, and Italy, and particularly in Rome, the greatest city in the world. Thus," adds he, "God honoureth those who honour him; for which his holy name be praised."

The Rev. Robert King, in his valuable Church History of Ireland, says:—"If any of my readers be simple enough

to imagine, that in early times, our Irish forefathers ever cherished towards the Church of Rome that extravagant reverence for her authority and blind submission to her dictates, which some of this day would consider worthy of all good Catholics, I can perhaps suggest to such an one no better means of correcting his mistake than the account given by Cardinal Baronius of the part the Irish bishops took in the disputes connected with the Nestorian controversy in the sixth century. Much contention had arisen at that time about the orthodoxy of a collection of writings known by the name of the "Three Chapters," which were considered by many to favour the Nestorian heresy. Baronius tells us that all the Irish bishops united in opposing the view taken of this point by the Church of Rome: the passage alluded to in his "Annals" is headed with this title; "*The Bishops of Ireland Schismatics;*" and the words of it are as follows, (A. D. 566.) "But through the malice of the demon of evil it came to pass at this period, that while the Church of France was illuminated by so many bright stars, the Church in Ireland, which had been up to this time thriving well, became overspread with thick darkness; having made shipwreck in consequence of not following the bark of St. Peter, which takes the lead of all, pointing out the road to the gate of salvation: for while desirous to appear more righteous than others, and more wise than was meet, she is unknowingly misled by the Schismatics. For a false report having reached them, through the dishonesty of these Schismatics, stating that the fifth Synod had transgressed against the holy council of Chalcedon, (as if by the condemnation of the Three Chapters it had condemned at the same time the acts of that Synod;) all the bishops that were in Ireland with one accord rose up in the most determined spirit of zeal for the defence of the Three Chapters. And they were guilty moreover of

this further wickedness, that when they had perceived the Roman Church to be equally determined in condemning the Three Chapters, and strengthening the fifth Synod with her consent; they at once separated from her, and joined themselves with the rest of the Schismatics that were in Italy, or Africa, or other places: puffed up with the vain conceit, that they were standing up for the Catholic faith, in defending the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. So these unhappy misguided persons, influenced by a kind of show of apparent right, having a zeal, but not that which was according to knowledge, (since they dwelt in a very remote part of the world, where they could not have been very easily admonished and corrected, to which circumstance were added the other embarrassments that wars, plague, and famine usually bring in their train,) continued in such a state for a length of time; feeling a pity for those who followed the fifth Synod as persons who had forsaken the right way of faith; so far were they from being able to comprehend that it was they themselves who were led astray. And they cling the more obstinately to their error from conceiving the idea, that whatever Italy suffered from the troubles of war, famine, or pestilence, all such misfortunes had befallen her in consequence of her having acted as the champion of the fifth Synod against the Council of Chalcedon. And in this most unhappy position they continued even to the times of Pope St. Gregory, that is, to the close of this century, when these bishops above mentioned wrote a letter about these matters to the same Gregory so eminent for sanctity, whom they knew to be a friend of God.' But of the answer which Gregory returned them, we shall speak in the proper place.

"Thus far Baronius, out of whose narrative we may collect with Archbishop Ussher, 'that the bishops of

Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their sides, they preferred the judgment of other Churches before it.' And as to their afterwards applying for counsel to Pope Gregory, the words of Baronius himself are sufficient to suggest to us why they did so: not because they considered the bishop of Rome possessed of authority for regulating with his church the doctrine of all Christians in the world, but because they regarded him as a worthy counsellor, not only for his high station in the Church, but especially on account of his being one whom they knew to be eminent for holiness, and the love of God."

"And further, the Irish did not write to Gregory in terms of abject submission to his pontifical authority, but rather in a tone that implied that they valued indeed his opinion, and would give it due consideration; yet not so as to feel themselves constrained to adopt it, unless it should commend itself to their own judgment. This appears plainly from the answer which Gregory returned them in A. D. 592. He sends them a book on the subject at issue, which he thinks ought to be sufficient to convince them that they were in the wrong; and remarks on it in his letter:—'If after the reading of this book, you will persist in holding the same opinions that you now entertain, you shew, beyond a doubt, that you give yourselves to be ruled, not by reason, but by obstinacy.'

"It is interesting to observe that the schism here spoken of by Baronius, is noted by him as commencing in the very next year after St. Columba had entered upon his apostolic labours in Scotland. Whether the Irish bishops were right or wrong about the *Three Chapters*, it is plain that they did not at that time, (which is now nearly thirteen hundred years ago) consider the Church of Rome to be

the infallible and divinely appointed interpreter of the will of God, or conceive that in disregarding her judgment, and acting in opposition to it, they were violating any principle of the *Catholic faith*.

"The narrative of Baronius, here inserted, brings us down to the close of the sixth century. How matters proceeded at the commencement of the seventh, we learn with sufficient clearness from Bede's Church History;" to which we must refer our readers.

"About the year 634, Pope Honorius made an effort to bring the Irish into conformity with the See of Rome, and addressed to them a letter in which he exhorted them, 'not to esteem their own inconsiderable number, inhabiting the very ends of the earth, as wiser than the churches of Christ, ancient and modern, throughout the world: and not to continue the celebration of a different Easter from theirs, in opposition to the paschal computations, and synodal decrees of the bishops of the whole world.' Soon after the date of this letter, the southern Irish, it would appear, adopted the common rule for finding Easter; but the northern Irish, the Picts, and the Britons, continued to follow their own way in this particular for many years after, little regarding the opinions, admonitions, or arguments of the Pope or clergy of Rome.

"Very soon after this, the celebrated and learned Irishman Cummian, who had conformed to the Roman usages, addressed a letter to Segienus, who was Abbot of Iona at that time, (A. D. 640) endeavouring to persuade him to agree to the churches abroad in the observance of Easter, &c. In this letter he urges upon him how presumptuous it was to imagine that "Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, all the world errs: the Scots, (*i. e.* Irish) and Britons are the only people who think right." (vid. Ussher's Sylloge.) The monks of Iona were,

however, little moved by Cummian's letter, but adhered to their own ways for at least more than half a century afterwards."

"The throne of the kingdom of Northumberland was filled in the year 664 by a prince named Oswy, who had received his education from Irish instructors. Bede, in speaking of him, (Hist. Ec. iii. 29.) says, that 'although he was brought up by the Scottish, yet he knew rightly that the Roman was the Catholic and Apostolic Church,' or as it may be translated, 'that the Roman Church was Catholic and Apostolic:' where it is plainly implied that the Scots or Irish, with whom he had studied, thought otherwise of the Church of Rome."

"In the same year, Wilfrid, one of the Roman party, was chosen Archbishop of York: but, when nominated to this dignity, he at first steadfastly 'refused to accept it, lest he should receive his consecration from the Scottish (or Irish) bishops, or those that had been ordained by the Scots, whose communion the Apostolic See rejected:' and afterwards he requested to be sent over the sea to France, where Catholic bishops might be had, in order to be consecrated there. For as we learn from Bede, there was not, at that time, 'in all Britain any bishop canonically ordained,' (that is to say, by such as were of the communion of the Church of Rome) 'excepting only Wini,' bishop of the West Saxons."

We must for the present—and we do so reluctantly—refrain from farther quoting from Mr. King's admirable History of the Church of Ireland. To it, however, we beg to refer our readers for accounts of ecclesiastical occurrences, which from the year 664 up to that of about 800, took place in Ireland, Britain, and upon the continent of Europe; assuring them that they will rise up from the perusal, instructed, deeply interested, and gratified—gratified, we

trust, to find how very much was done by the Irish divines who went forth both from Ireland and Iona, to proclaim to mankind the glad-tidings of salvation. But, alas! we have reached the period when that light which had shone so long and brightly from the latter, is about to be obscured; for history tells us, that the first checks to Iona's celebrity, were the invasions of the Norwegians and Danes; and we have already seen that, in that of the year 806, the family of Y was slain by those Gentiles; when that light was extinguished, which had shed religion, learning, and civilization, over so many countries; and that the harassed successors of Columba, had found uncertain shelter from their furious devastations, and cruelties in the monasteries of Ireland, the father-land of their great founder; and which also continued, for many years afterwards, to suffer most grievously from the atrocities of those barbarians: indeed it would seem that the Irish character now underwent a very much to be lamented change, and that religion and morality were no longer cherished as of old, even amongst the high-minded descendants of Milesius.

The reader will find in Dr. Keating's History of Ireland—who is entirely guided by the old chroniclers and annalists—accounts of several battles fought in that country, between the Irish and the Danes. But the latter, notwithstanding the many discomfitures they had met with, from the natives, in the course of a period of nearly two hundred years, continued their hostilities, and were but too often supported, in their renewed attempts at conquest, by the king and army of Leinster; for it had now become the misfortune of the Irish, that they were never free from intestine divisions, which hastened on their calamities; and so implacable had grown the spirit of revenge and discord among them, that they often joined their troops to those of the Norseman to enable him to enslave their

country. Thus learning, civilization, and primitive Christianity—the blessings of which Ireland had so long been highly favoured with—began to be neglected or to disappear.

It must be admitted—and this will be the more apparent as we proceed—that what may be called common history is, in every respect, very inferior to ecclesiastical. This need the less surprise us, when we recollect that in the olden time, a very small share of what could be considered literary acquirements or knowledge, fell to the lot of any, especially during what are termed the "dark ages," but ecclesiastics. We therefore expect that, as we proceed, the reader will not regret when we have recourse to ecclesiastical documents, particularly when they elucidate and confirm what is contained in the old Irish manuscripts.

In the 1004, Maolseachluin, one of the posterity of Heremon, ascended the throne of Ireland. "Many transactions of importance happened during the reign of this monarch, which lasted for twenty-three years; particularly the memorable battle of Tara, which he fought against the Danes of Dublin, under the sons of Humphrey, the son of Sitric; and gave them a total defeat, after 5000 of those foreigners were slain. Encouraged by this victory, the king of Ireland and Eochaidh, who had governed the province of Ulster, for thirty-five years, joined their forces, and resolved to attack the city of Dublin, the place of refuge, to which the Danes retired, and to drive them out of the country; for that purpose, they made all necessary preparations for a siege; and with a numerous and well-disciplined army, sat down before its walls. Three days after their encampment, they resolved to make a general assault, and try the courage of the besieged. The attack was most violent, and attended with great slaughter; but, the superior bravery of the Irish prevailed; and having

fixed their standard upon the walls, so intimidated the Danes, that they surrendered. The victors avoided such dreadful cruelties as usually follow the capture of towns, and behaved with humanity and moderation. They set at liberty many of the principal nobility and gentry of the Irish, who had been taken captive by the Danes, and had suffered a severe and long confinement; particularly Daniel of Claon, king of Leinster. The affairs of the Danes were thus reduced to great extremities, and the vanquished were obliged to accept of hard conditions, and were glad to be admitted to mercy upon the terms of quitting all their conquests from the river Shannon towards the sea."

"Not long after, the Danes, notwithstanding the stipulations they had entered into, having in some measure repaired their former losses, prepared for new attempts. The foreigners of Dublin, under the command of Mortough O'Congallach, plundered Dounach Patrick with great cruelty; but Providence soon after punished them for their breach of faith; for a visitation fell among them, by which infinite numbers were destroyed." Events favourable to the Irish followed. "But the foreigners receiving constant supplies from Denmark and Norway, began to raise new commotions; and, in a short time, had such successes in their attempts, that the Irish were in danger of being subdued and forced into slavery; nor was there any prince in the island, who opposed their insults, but the brave Bryen Boiroimhe, king of Munster. This renowned hero, with his stout Momonians, was always in arms, harassing the foreigners and humbling their insolence, whilst the king of Ireland gave himself up to indolence and inactivity." This so completely acquired for Bryen the esteem of the natives, who owed their lives and liberties to his protection, that they made an attempt to dethrone Maolseachluin.

It would far exceed the bounds we prescribed to ourselves in undertaking this work, were we to enter into a detailed account of what followed, or of Maolseachluin's attempts to recall his subjects to their allegiance; and which ended in his abdication and in Bryen Boiroimhe's ascending the throne of Ireland.—Dr. Keating, however adds, that "Bryen was a monarch worthy to command a kingdom of much greater extent, for he was invincible in arms, of great experience in military discipline, munificent to his friends, and merciful to his enemies. He had a great share in the affections of the people, upon account of his many heroic victories and accomplishments; nor was it unjust or inglorious in him to make an attempt upon the crown of Ireland; for it appears in this history, that the course of succession was often interrupted, and hereditary rights laid aside; the monarchy was in some measure elective, and generally fell into the hands of the most valiant and beloved by the people; so that the aspersions that are fixed by some authors upon the character of this Momonian prince, for thrusting himself, by violence into the throne, are ill supported; nor did he violate any of the established laws, or act contrary to the constitution of the kingdom. The greatest part of the island he subdued by his arms; for he forced under his obedience all who refused to confess his authority; but, the justice and natural clemency of his temper, soon procured him the affections of the people of all ranks and conditions; so that he was proclaimed by universal consent, and Maolseachluin was obliged to resign the sceptre, and retire peaceably to the state of a subject." This mode of reasoning may, according to the notions of Dr. Keating, make all appear to have been right and proper; but, we shall soon have to mark the consequences of Bryen's *usurpation*, and also of those intestine divisions, from which Irishmen were now never free, when we come

to speak of the easy conquest of Ireland, achieved, in consequence of them, by Henry II. of England.

" Bryen Boiroimhe, having at length established himself in the absolute possession of the throne of Ireland, and suppressed, by force of arms, the turbulent Danes, as well as all who opposed him, resolved to settle the disturbed state of his dominions, and to repair what the fury of civil wars had destroyed. In the first place, he judged it would contribute to his future security, to bestow some popular favours upon the principal nobility and gentry of the kingdom, whom by degrees he so far obliged, by conferring very valuable rights and privileges upon them, that instead of disturbing his reign with new commotions, they were overcome by his clemency and indulgence, and approved themselves a loyal and obedient people. By this time, general tranquillity prevailed throughout the island, which afforded a proper opportunity to the king of Ireland to rebuild and repair the churches and religious houses which the Danes had destroyed. He summoned together all the clergy of whatever order, who had been ejected by those cruel sequestrators, during the time of public troubles; and inquiring strictly into the rights and pretensions of every one, he restored them all to their several rights, and filled the cathedrals and abbeys with the members that belonged to them. The revenues likewise of the churches, which had been seized by the Danes, he recovered, and restored them to the foundations to which they had originally belonged."

It should be here observed that, according to Mr. Petrie, there are still in existence the great cemeteries appropriated to the interment of the Irish princes of the different races, who ruled as sole monarchs, or provincial kings. The authority for this is to be found in a celebrated Irish

manuscript, the "Leabhar nah Uidhre," a work compiled at Clonmacnoise, and transcribed in that great abode of learning in the twelfth century. From this and other documents we know not only the use of these localities, but the very names of those buried in them: and when we wonder that no articles of value are found in some of them, as in the great mounds on the Boyne, this also the manuscripts enable us to explain; for they acquaint us that these cemeteries were opened and plundered by the Danes in the year 862.

"Religion being thus re-established by Bryen, on its ancient footing, his next care was to provide for the education of youth; and, for that end, he repaired the seminaries that had been destroyed by the Danes, who were professed enemies to learning, and erected new ones where they were wanting, in several parts of the kingdom. In these nurseries, the liberal sciences, and all the branches of human learning were taught; public libraries were built for poor students, and a provision made for youths of promising hopes, who were unable to support themselves. And thus were the seminaries enriched, and governed, as of old, by regular discipline, which had that effect as to train up persons of excellent abilities in all professions, who revived the decayed state of learning, and not only concerned themselves in instructing the youth of their own kingdom, but were also of great use in polishing the rugged and illiterate disposition of the neighbouring nations.

"The kingdom of Ireland recovered from intestine and foreign wars, under the kind influence of the administration of this prince, who opened a scene of plenty and tranquillity to the inhabitants, which continued without interruption for the space of twelve years, which was the

whole time of his reign. But, it must be observed in this place, that Bryen, as king of Ireland, had the honour of his country so much at heart, that by his authority he expelled all the Danes throughout the island, except such as inhabited the cities of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, whom he permitted to remain in the country for the benefit of trade; for these foreigners were a maritime and mercantile people, and by importation supplied the kingdom with commodities that served both for pleasure and use, and by this means were a public advantage to the whole nation;"—to this circumstance we call the reader's attention—"but the king of Leinster, who had received an affront at Bryen's Court, Ceann Condahd, resolved to be revenged, and to prosecute a design which he had formed. With this in view, he despatched messengers to the king of Denmark, to desire the assistance of auxiliary forces against the king of Ireland, who had, as he pretended, "erected a tyranny in the island, and used the Danes with great barbarity, and forced them to abandon their possessions in the country. The Danish king readily complied with this solicitation, and selecting a choice body of his army, consisting of 12,000 men, he placed them under the command of his two sons, Carolus Cnutus and Andrew, who safely arrived with them at the port of Dublin."

We are aware of what is stated in the *Clarendon MSS.* in the British Museum, as to Bryen Boiroimhe having lost the battle of Clountarffe, as well as his own life in it, through precipitation, and want of judgment in his arrangements for the conflict. We cannot find that the account given in the Clarendon MSS. is corroborated in any others; and must therefore attribute its having been got up, to that vile jealousy, by which the minds of so

many of the early English writers seem to have been influenced, as to the materials with which Irishmen are so superiorly furnished for the ancient history of their country, to what they possess for that of their own.

But we must here give an account of the nature of the affront which the king of Leinster received at Bryen's court.—He was looking on whilst Bryen's eldest son was playing, as it is stated, a game of *chess*, and took the liberty of advising his antagonist to a move which lost Morrogh the game; whereupon Morrogh observed to him, with a sneer, *that if he had given as good advice at the battle of Glen-mama, the Danes would not have received so great an overthrow.* To which the king of Leinster replied—"My instructions the next time shall guide them to victory;" when Morrogh, with contempt bade him defiance. The king of Leinster became enraged, retired to his bedchamber, and did not appear at the banquet, but passed the night in restless anger and ruminating his country's ruin.

Early next morning he set out for Leinster, without taking leave of the monarch, or any of his court, to shew that he was bent upon desperate revenge. When Byren heard of his departure, he sent one of his servants after him, to request that he would be reconciled to Morrogh. The servant overtook him east of the Shannon, and delivered his message from Byren. The king of Leinster, who all the while listened with indignation, as soon as the servant was done speaking, raised the rod of yew which he had in his hand, and, with three furious blows thereof fractured the servant's skull, to make known to Bryen how he rejected such reconciliation:—this led to the famous battle of Clountarffe; but, before giving an account of it, the Irish soldier of those days should be first described:—

"The arms and appointments of the Irish soldiers con-

sisted of a helmet of leather, a skeine or large knife, a battle axe, and a long spear; and, lest they might be caught in flight by an enemy, they had their heads shaven behind." The following is to be found in *Saxo Grammaticus*, Danicæ, lib. v. "When the Irish go to battle, they say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making crosses therewith on the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have better success in battle." *Giraldus Cambrensis*, thus speaks of the havoc made by the Irish with the battle axe:—"They hold the axe with one hand, the thumb being stretched along the handle to direct the blow, from which neither the helmet can defend the head, nor the iron mail the rest of the body. Whence it happens, that the whole thigh of a soldier, though ever so well cased in mail, is cut through by one blow of the axe, the leg falling on one side of the horse, and the dying man on the other."

Bryen Boiroimhe, or Borom, hearing of the immense preparations of the Danes and Lagenians, under Maelmordha, their king, and of the landing of very considerable numbers of auxiliaries from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Orkney Islands, the Islands of Shetland, the Hebrides, the Isle of Mann, the Island of Lewis, the Isle of Skye, Cantyre, and Caithness, both at and near the city of Dublin, marched at the head of his Momonian troops, joined by those of Meath and Connaught, under the command of their respective kings, Malachy and Teige, and encamped at Kilmainham, within full view of his enemies.

Soon after the encampment of his army, he detached into Leinster a select body of troops, consisting of the flower of his Dalcassians, and the third part of the Eugenians, under the command of his son Donough, unperceived by the enemy, charging them to return in two days

time, after they had annoyed the Lagenians, and destroyed their country. This expedition, which was intended to cause an important diversion, had been approved of by Malachy and all the other princes of Bryen's council; but in the mean time, the treacherous and ungrateful king of Tara, lost no time in sending an emissary to the Danish camp, to acquaint those foreigners with what had taken place, and entreating them to attack Bryen the following day; and, as an additional inducement for them to do so, he promised to desert from that monarch in the beginning of the action.

These advantageous offers of the king of Tara, were readily embraced by the Danes and Lagenians, who spent the night in preparations for battle, and who presented themselves, at the dawn of day, before Bryen's army on the plain of Clountarffe, with colours displayed, and formed into three separate corps or divisions. The first was composed of the Danes of Dublin, under the command of their king Sitricus, supported by the auxiliaries from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, under their generals Carrol and Anrud, the two sons of Euricus, king of Norway; Dolanus and Conmaolus, two famous officers, and Brodar, general of the troops of Denmark; and, what was remarkable in those days, a thousand of these auxiliaries were clad in coats of brass. The second corps consisted of the insular Danish auxiliaries; and a third of the troops of Leinster, under Maolmodha, who is mentioned as *principal* king of that province—these were supported by a thousand Danish troops.

Bryen, as soon as he had reconnoitred the enemy's order of battle, divided his own army into three columns. The first composed of the tribe of Dal-Cas, under the command of Bryen in person, and of his son Morrogh. His other four sons, Connor, Flann, Teige, and Donnal, had

also commands in this corps. Besides the Dal-Cassians, Malachy, king of Tara, with the forces of Meath, formed part of this column, which was intended to attack the leading division of the enemy. The second division of Bryen's forces consisted of the Conations, under Teige—who is likewise spoken of as *principal* king of Conocht—and other leaders. This corps was to engage the enemy's second division. The last division of the king of Ireland's army, was composed of the Eugenians and Desians, under the command of Cian, and other distinguished officers, who were ordered to attack the enemy's third division.

Bryen having, like Bruce, earnestly exhorted his army to fight valiantly, and to avenge their country's wrongs, as well as the horrors committed by the sacrilegious and merciless tyrants before them; he then commanded the enemy to be attacked, sword in hand.—When, to his great surprise, king Malachy and the forces of Meath deserted their post, and retired with precipitation from the field of battle! This act of treachery and ingratitude, in so important an ally as Malachy, at the commencement of the action, animated the Danes of the first division to such a degree, that the attacks of their *cuirassiers* were almost irresistible;—yet Bryen and his corps, far from being daunted, maintained their ground with great firmness and intrepidity, redoubling their courage upon seeing their tribe of *Dal-Cas* all alone, and without the mixture of any other troops to share in the glory of their exploits. Thus it was, that a general and obstinate fight began between the corps of both armies, which lasted from soon after sunrise, till late in the evening, at the expense of much blood on both sides. The Danes and Lagenians, after the loss of most of their commanders and troops, gave way, and fled for shelter to Dublin and to their ships;

but were so closely pursued by the victors, that very few of them arrived at their place of refuge. The Irish in this deroute of the Danes, had the misfortune to lose their famous monarch Bryen, who, after having displayed prodigies of valour, as well as of military skill in the command of his army throughout the action, pursued the enemy at the head of his corps, where he was slain by Brodar, general of the auxiliaries of Denmark, by a stroke of a battle-axe; but Bryen at the same time gave him a thrust of a sword, of which the Dane immediately expired.

Bryen's eldest son, Morrogh, who so greatly distinguished himself, and did wonders in this action, slew several Danish officers of distinction; among whom were Carrol and Anrud, the two sons of the king of Norway, as also Conmaol, another famous commander. "He also slew Sitricus, chief commander of the insular Danes, by dividing him into two equal parts, through his coat of brass, from his head to his rump, with a single blow of his battle-axe." Morrogh, after this last mentioned feat, returned to his father's corps, "at the head of which he performed great exploits, and continued to press the enemy with such irresistible strength and fury, that his right hand was entirely mangled from the repetition of his blows. After his hand had been thus disabled, the Norwegian prince, Anrud, above mentioned, made towards him, sword in hand; Morrogh endeavoured to parry his passes, and then taking hold of him with his left hand, he lifted him above the ground, and shook him quite out of his coat of brass; then prostrating him, he leaned upon his sword with his breast, and pierced through Anrud's body;—the Norwegian, in the meantime, drew Morrogh's skeine from his belt, and gave him a mortal wound, of which he soon after expired."

The *Innisfallen* account of this great battle, makes the number of the slain on the part of the Danes and Lagenians to amount to 13,800 men; that is to say, 4000 of the Danes of Dublin and Ireland; 6700 of the auxiliary Danes; 3100 of the forces of Leinster. The *Chronicon Scotorum* gives a very good idea of the obstinacy with which it was fought, by saying, "that the like battle, or any equal to it, had not been fought in Ireland for many ages." The *Innisfallen Annals* also state, that there were 4000 of Bryen's troops killed and many wounded.

We have curtailed, as much as we well could, the accounts handed down to us of this great and important battle; whilst we have also endeavoured to retain the expressions used by the translators of the ancient manuscripts from which they are taken. The Danes, or rather Norsemen, were certainly totally defeated in it, and their power in Ireland, at least for the time, had received a severe blow; but we are not to imagine that the troubles these barbarians—as they are called—caused, were at an end. On the contrary, we find them not long after, still powerful enough to venture once more to commit all kinds of atrocities—plundering and laying waste the country, murdering the people, or carrying many of them into captivity: in fact, the Irish from having been so long held in thraldom by these warlike Norsemen, had, as is usual in such cases, evidently become greatly deteriorated in national character. In the ultimate expulsion of these certainly enterprising and industrious people, they were not only depriving themselves of commerce, but also of almost all intercourse, of a beneficial nature, with other countries. Besides, learning and primitive christianity, as we before had to observe, were no longer cherished and valued, as they had been formerly by the Irish, and their minds were, as a natural consequence, rapidly preparing

for the reception of those erroneous impressions and dogmas, which too soon were to be attempted to be diffused among them, and in such a manner as to corrupt the purity of the Irish branch of the Church of Christ, as planted in their long and highly favoured island, by those holy men, St. Patrick and St. Columba.—We dare not venture to draw, as it might be improper to do so, a comparison betwixt Ireland at the period of which we now treat, and the Holy Land, when our Saviour wept at the sight of Jerusalem, whose visitation was about to close, and whose judgment was hastening on, saying, "O that thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace! but now are they hid from thine eyes." And have they not been equally so from both the Jews and the Irish? What follows is as curious, as it is a melancholy picture of Ireland and of national feeling at the period; but, as for society, we can have little or no notion of the state in which it must have been.

In the year 1039, Maolseachluin again recovered the crown of Ireland. He had, with his troops, raised in the country of Meath, looked on at the battle of Clountarffe; a description of which he sent in the following words to Clan Colman—"I never beheld with my eyes, nor read in history, an account of a sharper and bloodier fight, than this memorable action; nor, if an angel from heaven would descend and relate the circumstances of it, could you, without difficulty, be induced to give credit to it: I withdrew with the troops under my command, and was no otherwise concerned than as a spectator, and stood at no greater distance than the breadth of a fallow field and a ditch. When both the powerful armies engaged and grappled in close fight; it was dreadful to behold how the swords glittered over their heads, being struck by the

rays of the sun, which gave them an appearance of a numerous flock of white sea gulls flying in the air; the strokes were so mighty, and the fury of the combatants so terrible, that great quantities of hair, torn or cut off from their heads by their sharp weapons, was driven off by the wind; and their spears and battle-axes were so encumbered with hair, cemented together by clotted blood, that it was scarce possible to clear or bring them to their former brightness."

This prince, who had been thus an unconcerned spectator of such a battle as that of Clountarffe, soon after, in conjunction with O'Neill and O'Maoldoring, led a formidable army to the city of Dublin, which he surprised; and, after it was plundered by the soldiers, he set it on fire. The Danish inhabitants of the city, who escaped the battle of Clountarffe, and were thus dispossessed of their houses, united in a body and marched to Jobh Cinnseallach, which they plundered and burnt to the ground. In this expedition, they ravaged the country with fire and sword, killed multitudes of people, and carried off many into captivity. Soon after, Maolseachluin entered the province of Ulster in a hostile manner, and when he had plundered the country, he made slaves of the inhabitants. About the same time Donagan, king of Leinster, with many of his principal nobility, was barbarously murdered in the palace of Teige O'Ryan, king of Ondrona, by Donough Mac Giolla Patrick. Maolseachluin, not long after, led his army into the country of Ossery, and killed Dungal Mac Giolla Patrick Mac Donough, and a great number of his subjects; and such as escaped the slaughter were made captives. According to tradition, and it may yet be borne out by the old manuscripts, this Irish monarch laid the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, in the city of Dublin, A. D. 1045; "but of this we assured," says Dr. Keating,

"that in his last reign he followed the example of his predecessor, the great Bryen Boiroimhe, and he was a prince of exemplary goodness and devotion in the latter part of his life."

We do not, as yet, find any thing in Irish history respecting acknowledged power in Ireland of the Popes, nor of Popery; though it is stated, that he, Maolseachluin, repaired decayed churches and monasteries, and re-established the public schools or seminaries that were destroyed during the civil wars. He is also said to have maintained three hundred poor scholars at his own expense. This we may conclude he did out of the money and goods of which, we have just seen, he had plundered his wretched subjects; and, in the hope of obtaining from a probably now beginning to be thought infallible priesthood, a pardon for all his sins.

"It was in the reign of Maolseachluin that Sitric, the son of Humphry, struck out the eyes of Bran, in the city of Dublin, after he had governed the province of Leinster for two years. The Danes who inhabited Dublin, under the conduct of Sitric, had plundered Ceananus in a cruel manner, killed multitudes of people, and forced many more into slavery. About this time Ugaire, who was king of Leinster for three years, encountered the Danes of Dublin, and overthrew them in a pitched battle. Soon after this defeat, Sitric, who was governor of the Danes of Waterford, was killed by the king of Ossery; nor did Maolseachluin long survive; for he died at Cro Inis Locha Hainninn." After the decease of Maolseachluin, some of the chronicles of Ireland, give an account of many monarchs in succession to him in the throne of that country; but Dr. Keating admits, "it is a more probable opinion, that from the death of this king, till the English arrived, there was no absolute monarch of the country, though there were several who

assumed to themselves the title of king." The island was, beyond doubt, afterwards tyrannized over by a set of petty princes, who were constantly at war with each other. We need not, therefore, be surprised that, from the death of Maolseachluin, until the year 1168, when Roderick, otherwise called Roger, fixed himself in the throne of Ireland, the Irish should, for many obvious reasons, have unhappily fallen away from the true religion of Christ, and had likewise, as we have already said, gone back considerably in learning and civilization.

It ought here to be observed, as a singular circumstance, that during the long period which elapsed betwixt the year 1095, when the first Crusade to the Holy Land was, in the madness and presumption of Romanism, resolved upon, and that of 1162, when the affairs of the Crusaders began to decline, we do not find, in any history, that the Irish, then a warlike and, though learning had certainly greatly declined amongst them, still far from being either a rude or uncivilized nation, had taken any part whatever in those Pope-directed enterprises, by which Europe was infatuated; and what other inference are we to draw from this, than, that the Popes of Rome possessed even then no power or influence in Ireland, and that the Irish, being still *primitive Christians*, perhaps felt that they had nothing to say to doings so contrary to *true Gospel principles*. This, we believe, would have been the feeling of St. Columba had he then lived; but can we say that such a feeling was still alive in the minds of Irishmen?—at all events, we were most anxious to have been able to continue to entertain this idea of their Christianity; but the following passage, taken from Dr. Lanigan's History of the Irish Church, together with what is asserted by Dr. Keating—both Romish priests—too clearly prove in what a miserable state Ireland then was, and continued to be, until it was

conquered by Henry II. :—"Two pious princes died during this period, Roderic (Rughraidhe) O'Conor, in 1118, at Clonmacnoise, where, from having been king of Connaught, he entered into holy orders; and Teige MacCarthy, king of Desmond, at Cashel, in 1124, after an exemplary course of penitential conduct. Some other princes also exhibited great proofs of religious feelings and repentance, especially Murtogh O'Brian; but we find terrible oppressions and cruelties perpetrated in said times by Irish kings or dynasts, who did not scruple to plunder, devastate, and burn churches and religious places. For instance, the church of Ardbraccan was, together with a number of people therein, burned and pillaged, in 1109, by the Hy-Briuns, who destroyed also the adjacent village. The Dalcassians of Thomond plundered and laid waste the monastery of Clonmacnoise, in 1111, at, it is said, the instigation of Murtogh O'Brian; and they, or some other party of Momonians, pillaged it again in 1115. Aedh O'Rouke, and the Hy-Briuns killed Maelbrigid, abbot of Kells, and many others, on the last Sunday of summer in 1117. We have seen above that Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, and that Emly was plundered in 1123. Conor O'Lochlin, an Ulster prince, having marched with a great army into Meath, amidst other depredations burned, in 1127, the steeple of the church of Trim, in which a very considerable number of people was shut up at the time. Thus it appears, that several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite in defence of their altars against the Scandinavian robbers. This was one of the sad effects of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the

sovereignty of all Ireland, and again between divers members of said families quarrelling among themselves for precedency. In these contests the respective parties and their adherents stopped at nothing, while endeavouring to establish their claims, and harassed and persecuted without distinction all those whom they looked upon as their opponents."

In the preface to the second edition (addressed especially to members of the Church of Rome) of that most useful and excellent work, entitled "a Primer of the Church History of Ireland," published in Dublin, in 1843—and of which we have already expressed our admiration—we find as follows:—"You will see from the whole tenor of this history, how utterly false is the supposition that the Church of Rome is the most ancient in this country. You will read here at what particular times many of its peculiarities were introduced among us. Thus you will see that in St. Patrick's time, the clergy were allowed to marry, as they were indeed long after; that he and St. Columba, with their followers, were ignorant of such a place as purgatory; and that Holy Scripture was what they were most celebrated for teaching to all their pupils, and the chief cause of their great reputation: that the first Pope's legate came to Ireland in 1139; that is, seven hundred years after the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick; and that as to the general feeling of the old Irish Christians towards the Church of Rome, they were so far from having any special regard for her authority in their brightest days, that they rather disputed with her in matters of small importance, (although then considered to be of most vital consequence), and things in which she was right; as, for instance, the rule for finding Easter. And in fine, whatever practices similar to those of the modern Church of Rome may have been admitted into this

land before the twelfth century; you will see that it was not until that period, that her authority was formally submitted to, or her doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, completely adopted by the Irish church. You will find that St. Malachy and other Irish ecclesiastics, with King Henry II. of England, were the persons who brought this work to perfection; and that those hated Saxons, as many of you are taught to style the English, were the persons by whose influence chiefly the system of Romanism was first established in Ireland.

"It is of very great importance that you should observe, that the authorities for all the principal facts contained in this volume, are not what you would call Protestant writers, whose testimony you might naturally receive with suspicion, but many of them persons who lived long before the name of Protestant was used. They were men whose testimony, so far as it is applied to the present work, will be received with respect by all, but with the highest degree of veneration by yourselves, most of them being claimed by you as bishops, saints, and confessors of that ancient church of which you consider yourselves to be now the only true representatives. St. Patrick, Bede, Aldhelm, Bernard, &c. are all numbered in the catalogue of your saints; and such other ancient writers as I have quoted are mostly high authorities with your church; while even such modern ones as O'Sullivan, Lombard, &c., whom I have had occasion to refer to in a later period of the work, were most devoted followers and promoters of the system to which you yourselves belong.

"You will see here what a character our country had for learning in ancient times; and how strangers crowded to it from other lands, to be educated here; looking upon Ireland as the principal nursery of religion and learning in Europe. You will see too, what a noble spirit of zeal for the diffusion

of Christian knowledge was manifested by the ancient people of this land, and how they were thus influenced to receive from foreign parts the children of parents, high and low alike, whom they supported and provided with instruction, and books to read gratuitously. And you will see that the study which they prized most highly, and cultivated most carefully, was that of the *Word of God;* and that it was to read the *Scriptures* particularly, that so many persons came to study in Ireland in former times.

"You cannot fail, in reading these accounts, to be struck with the last feature of ancient Irish Christianity, as a remarkable one. You will see how well St. Patrick was acquainted with the texts of *Holy Scripture,* and how fond he was of quoting it, and how much the same sacred study was attended to by St. Columba and his followers. You will read of fifty persons coming in one vessel from the continent (in St. Senan's time) into Cork harbour, on their way to the famous school of Iniscarra, on the Lee, (about seven miles above the city of Cork,) their object being '*either to lead a life of stricter discipline, or to improve themselves in the study of the Holy Scriptures.*' You will see that it was '*for the purpose of studying the Word of God, or else to observe a stricter life,*' that numbers of the nobility and lower classes from England came to this country; that it was thus Edilwin, who was afterwards a bishop in England, came here to be educated; and so Agilbert, who was afterwards bishop of Paris, '*spent no small time in Ireland for the sake of reading the Scriptures;*' and the famous priest Egbert in like manner, '*spent a long exile in Ireland for love to Christ,*' and thus became '*deeply learned in the Scriptures:*' and Alfred, who was king of Northumberland, having been educated in Ireland, is described as one who was '*most learned in the Scriptures.*' And the same motive, a desire for this sacred knowledge,

was that which brought hither Edilhun and Eahfrid, and Willibrord, the missionary archbishop of Utrecht, and Sulgen, the bishop of St. David's, and so many others whom we cannot name here. And on Sundays when the people flocked to church, it was with a desire '*to hear the Word of God:*' and when St. Columba went as a missionary to heathen Scotland, his object was, we are told, '*to preach the Word of God*' to those benighted regions. So that in fine, we need not wonder that John, the son of Sulgen, above mentioned, in writing of the Irish, describes them, even so lately as the eleventh century, as being 'a nation famous for the *Word of God.*' This is only a fair and an impartial picture of Ireland in the olden time." Alas! that what is to follow must portray her people in so different a light, as well as in such an altered character. But due allowance ought to be made for them, as they were again unhappily placed in as great thraldom as that under which their forefathers had so long groaned—that of Druidism; and from which state of darkness and degradation they had been delivered by the diffusion amongst them of *primitive Gospel Christianity.* But in what manner, and at what period, the iron yoke of Popery was placed around their necks, the Church History of Ireland, from which we have just been quoting, shews more satisfactorily and clearly than any other work with which we are acquainted. If it is not already translated into the Irish language, the sooner it is done the better; for it must, with the blessing of God, tend greatly toward opening the eyes of Irishmen in general, as to what was the nature of the Christianity professed by their ancestors. Apologising for what some may look upon as an unnecessary digression, we must again proceed to lay before our readers the farther results of our researches.

In the reign of the before-mentioned Roderick, Teigh-

ernan O'Rourke, king of Breifne, had married a lady of a very amorous disposition, who, having lost the esteem and confidence of her husband, resolved, when opportunity offered, to fly from his court. The name of this lady was Dearbhfhorguill, the daughter of Mortough Mac Floinn, king of Meath, and not the wife of that prince, as Giraldus Cambrensis asserts. In order to accomplish her designs, she sent a messenger privately to Diarmuid Mac Morrough, king of Leinster, with whom she was enamoured, and entreated him that he would rescue her from the embraces of a husband she hated, and to use any method, either of stratagem or force, to carry her off; and, to favour her escape, the messenger was to acquaint the king of Leinster that he might safely come to Conacht, and remain there till her husband set out upon his pilgrimage (such is Dr. Keating's account of the matter) to St. Patrick's Purgatory, which he proposed to do in a short time; so that, if he availed himself of the opportunity, he might easily convey her to Leinster, where they might both gratify those desires with safety which her forced marriage with the king of Breifne would not suffer her to indulge in. "Diarmuid received this message with all the joy of a transported lover, and immediately prepared to accomplish an amour that had been long carried on, but by some unfortunate accidents had been always perplexed and disappointed. He ordered a party of horse to attend him, and arriving at the place where the lady was, he found her ready to receive him. He caught her in his arms, and mounted her on horseback behind one of his superior officers, who soon arrived with her at his palace in Leinster. But the lady did not seem outwardly to be concerned in this design, for when she was seized, she cried out for help, as if she had been carried away by violence, the better to put a colour upon her escape."

"The king of Breifne was at this time upon his pilgrimage, to Lough Dearg, or St. Patrick's Purgatory, as it is called, and which was at one time the most famous shrine of penance and purification in Europe. It was by no means an unusual thing for princes from foreign countries to resort to this island cell, in the vain hope of finding rest for their troubled consciences. It had risen to such repute, and was so greatly diminishing certain bequests and revenues, that a bull from the Pope was procured for its suppression; but when he returned, he soon missed his wife, and understanding she was seized by force by the king of Leinster,—for the lady, by her outcries, had deceived her attendants,—he instantly meditated revenge, and applied himself to Roderick, the king of Ireland, for assistance: he likewise instigated the nobility and gentry of his own country to undertake his quarrel, and to chastise the ravisher for this outrageous indignity, which so sensibly affected the honour of himself, his wife, and family. The king of Ireland immediately mustered all the provincial troops of Conacht, the forces of Breifne, of Oirgiallach, and the country of Meath, with a full resolution to enter the province of Leinster with fire and sword, and take ample satisfaction of that prince, for the base and unworthy act he had committed. Diarmuid soon had intelligence of these military preparations against him, and summoning his nobility about him, he laid before them the formidable strength of the confederate army; and, with great condescension, implored their help to scatter the impending storm, that would not only overwhelm himself, but involve them in the common ruin, and bring destruction on the whole country. But this application had not the desired effect; for the nobility had conceived such a violent resentment against their prince, for the abominable injury he had committed, that they

absolutely refused to support him in so wicked a cause, which no excuse could palliate, and nothing but repentance and restitution could atone for; and to secure themselves from any violence that Diarmuid might propose to execute, the nobility renounced his authority, and put themselves under the protection of Roderick O'Connor, king of Ireland; for the king of Leinster had also incensed his subjects by many former provocations; and by his impolitic and tyrannical government, had so lost their affections, that they left him in his distress, and abandoned him to the power of his enemies. The king of Ireland, encouraged by this defection of the nobility of Leinster, marched his army into the territories of that province, and plundered such parts of the country as had continued firm in their allegiance to Diarmuid; for he met with no opposition, the king of Leinster being obliged to fly with a few followers, and leave the province without defence. The confederate army ravaged with all the terrors of fire and sword, and among other devastations, they marched to Fearna, plundered and demolished the royal palace of Diarmuid, and drove that unfortunate prince out of the island." This event led to the conquest of Ireland by Henry II. of England; but before we treat of that important achievement, the reader's serious attention is requested to what is now to be laid before him.

Every scripturally taught Christian is aware of the occasion upon which the following conversation took place: —"Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? (what the word "*these*" alluded to, has occasioned much useless controversy; but it matters not whether it were Peter's brethren, his fishing boats, or the fishing implements, by which he gained a comfortable livelihood.) He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed

my lambs. He saith unto him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? And he saith unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep." It is well known that from the above, and from the passage commencing with "Thou art Peter, &c." Romanists deduce our Saviour's appointment of Peter to the supremacy of His church; but it is evident, that so far from this being the case, the questions were put to Peter, because of his late conduct. Instead, therefore, of shewing any pre-eminence in him, it implied his fall, and tended to his humiliation. This, and this alone, was the reason why our Lord thus freely, yet tenderly, addresses him in the presence of his brethren.—It was necessary both for his sake and for their sakes.—It was merely a re-instating of Peter into his office as an apostle, from which office, from his having denied his Lord, he had fallen. But a cause must indeed be desperate when its advocates have no better proofs to offer than these of Peter's appointment to the supremacy, or to be "Prince of the apostles;" and do we not, soon after the above interview was vouchsafed to him by our Saviour, see Peter *deputed* with John, by the apostles which were in Jerusalem, to the Samaritans, to *lay hands* upon those who were baptized by Philip, but who had not received the Holy Ghost. Here we find Peter, so far from lording it over the other bishops, only acting in obedience to their united commands. But we are becoming, as we proceed, more and more convinced, that Ireland's misfortunes increased in proportion as her people fell away from *Primitive Christianity*, the nature of which ought, therefore, if now possible, to be understood.

It becomes requisite that we should look to the history of another and most important branch of the Church of Christ, which had always presented the right hand of fellowship to that founded afterwards, we may say, upon similar principles, by St. Patrick and St. Columba: indeed, it is much more probable, that these men of God had received ordination from its bishops or pastors, than from those of Rome, notwithstanding what Romanists have asserted to the contrary.—The branch to which we allude, is the ancient Church of the Britons.

For many ages after the religion of Jesus Christ was first established, the great body of Christians, scattered over the world, were called the Holy Catholic Church—the word Catholic we need scarcely say, signifying general or universal—the congregations of different countries and kingdoms worshipped their common Saviour, according to forms which were so much alike that, though there might be differences in point of form or discipline, yet, as branches of the same stem make only one tree, so they made one Church of Christ; and well might the heathens say of them "see how they love one another." One great reason why the Primitive Christians continued fast bound together was, that no one of any character for piety or scriptural knowledge, ever attempted to introduce objects, doctrines, or services which were opposed to the written *Word of God*, or the simplicity of the Gospel; another reason was, as we have seen, that no particular congregation or branch of Christ's Universal Church was allowed to lord it over another, or to assume decided eminence.

The late Bishop Burgess, of St. Davids, has proved to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced person, that the Gospel was preached in Britain by some one of the Apostles early in the first century, or by some one commissioned by them to do so; and in the year 64, when

Nero burnt Rome, many Christians fled to the bosom of the British Church, as to a secure refuge from his persecutions. Christianity was embraced and publicly supported by Prince Lucius, grandson of Caractacus, in the second century. During the Dioclesian persecution, in the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries, the Christian part of Britain was again a place of refuge for the persecuted fugitives.

In the fourth century, three bishops of the ancient British Church were present at the Council of Arles, which was convened by the Emperor Constantine; and others were present at the Councils of Sardica and Ariminum in the same century. In this century occurs Jerome's celebrated testimony to the sufficiency of the British Church as to salvation, and its independence with those of Gaul (from which some writers assert that St. Patrick received ordination) and Africa, as parts of one Catholic or Universal Church. The synod of Llandewy Brefi, under David their Metropolitan, took place in the sixth century. We have already seen that at a synod or conference held at Whitby, in the year 665, with a view to settle the question about the time of celebrating Easter, that Colman, bishop of Lindisfarn, an Irishman, and one of Columba's family of Y, appeared there, along with certain bishops of the ancient British Church, to oppose the opinions of Agiberct and other Augustinian bishops of the west Saxon Papal Church. The rejection of Popery by seven British bishops, with their Metropolitan in council, also occurred in the seventh century. The British Church continued, amidst the many changes which took place, and the calamities which befel England and Wales, its protest against Popery, from the year 590 to 1115, a period of 525 years, and would hold no communication whatever with the Papal Saxon Church, on account of

its "idolatrous and corrupt practices," after the family of Y was slain by the Gentiles in the year 806, internal commotions distracting Scotland and Northumbria, a double darkness is thrown over the ecclesiastical history of these two countries for the next two centuries, whilst the Church of Ireland had remained comparatively in light; and when we again become acquainted with Iona, in the reign of William the Lion, it is the seat of a convent of Cluniac Monks of unknown foundation. The light of history again dawns on Scotland in the eleventh century, and we find that David was the great restorer, in a certain sense, of the Church of Scotland, which, like that of the ancient Britons, had always protested against the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The bishoprics that existed before David's reign are scarcely to be reckoned royal endowments, with the exception of Aberdeen. The other bishops were really the successors of those saints, the founders of the Scottish Church—not the Kirk—who, after the general conversion of the country, had divided the kingdom into defined dioceses. This King added much to their number, and frequently used a Culdee, or old Columbite community as the foundation of the new See. This took place at Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Brechin. In each of these, and also at St. Andrews, the Culdees acted as the bishop's Chapter; and at Dunkeld, the Columban abbot became the first bishop. But, this was not to last. The old disciples of Columba, though adopting some of the forms of the monachism of that period, still preserved a good deal of their primitive simplicity, and reluctantly submitted to what was introduced by the southern monks, with whom David supplied many of his foundations. The zealous king, however, began to insist upon conformity, and, when he granted the island in Lochleven to the canons regular of St. Andrews, he

conditioned that the Culdees who were settled there, should be permitted to remain—"si regulariter vivere voluerint;" but added, "et si quis illorum ad hoc resistere voluerit, volo et precipio ut ab insula ejicitur." The Culdees soon after disappear, either absorbed in the new monastic orders, or altogether *ousted.*

In the annals of the now ruinous Abbey of Dryburgh, which is situated close to Melrose, but on the opposite bank of the river Tweed, (both originally founded as religious seminaries—the latter in 665—by the successors of St. Columba) we find that, about the year 1120, Romanism with all its usual concomitants, was rapidly gaining ground—as it was every where in Europe—in Scotland; and its king, as well as many of the nobility, besides Hugo de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, became zealous promoters of popery, and founders of popish establishments. Morville, and his equally zealous wife, Beatrix de Beauchamp, founded on St. Martin's day, in the year 1150, upon the spot where the ancient and simple Columbite buildings still stood, the abbey of Dryburgh. He afterwards obtained for it a Charter of confirmation from David I, who in the deed assumes the appellation of its founder, as he is also said to have been of Kelso Abbey, in 1128. About that period, the same course was pursued with several of the old primitive religious establishments, from which the humble, pious, and scripturally taught Culdees were without ceremony *ousted,* to make room for various orders of Romish monks, who establishing themselves in these magnificent monasteries, abbeys, &c. very soon began to lord it, as the Druids had done of old, over all classes of the people; compelling them, in order to escape their censures, or, probably, excommunication, to beg for pardon from them, not only for sins committed, but also those about to be

committed; and likewise to secure from them a pleasant and quick passage, for themselves, relations, and friends, through an imaginary purgatory, to contribute towards their comfortable maintenance, and the farther embellishment of their already splendid cathedrals, churches and abodes, considerable tracts of land, as well as large sums of money. The extensive ruins of many of these edifices remain to this day, as a warning to Protestant Britain, and attesting the strong delusion under which mankind had for generations laboured, as also the direful effects of monkish pride, exactions, and spiritual tyranny. But, alas! when mankind, at the period of the Reformation, came as it were, to their senses, too many of them, in their recklessness, and detestation of everything popish, in place of only reforming abuses and corruptions, tore up all by the roots; not distinguishing what had been the practices or forms of worship in the Church in the earliest days of Christianity, before men's inventions and innovations were made to supersede what is enjoined in Scripture—the fruits of this recklessness we are now reaping in the numberless sects into which we are divided, who though calling themselves Christians, do not belong to any real branch of the Catholic Church of Christ—this is a fearful position to be placed in!

We are told by Bishop Burgess, that ordination in the British Church was derived from St. Paul, and descended in it, in direct succession, to the beginning of the twelfth century, when Barnard, a Norman, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's (the Metropolitan See of the ancient British Church) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1115. By the forced submission of the British bishops, and their church in 1115, to the see of Canterbury, the two Churches, British and Saxon, were united and continued so till the present day, under the title of the Church of England.

But these united Churches threw off altogether the papal yoke, in the year 1530, or at the time of the Reformation, having been under that oppression—fully as debasing as Druidism—for a period of 415 years. They then returned to the Apostolic doctrine, purity, and discipline of the ancient British Church, founded by St. Paul, or by some one of the Apostles, or some person apostolically commissioned, A.D. 58, or 59; therefore, the ancient British Church is *one*, if not *two* years older than that of Rome, founded by St. Paul, A.D. 60. It cannot possibly be proved that St. Peter, whom Romanists are made to believe was the founder of their branch of the Church of Christ, *was ever in Rome.*

"Pope Gregory had written to Augustin, acquainting him, that he had subjected all the bishops of Britain to his authority. This missionary, with the aid of Ethelbert, prevailed upon the British prelates to meet him at a place. which has since been called Augustin's oak, in Worcestershire. After a long and unavailing disputation, the conference was adjourned to another day. In the interval, the Britons consulted a neighbouring hermit, who advised them to watch the behaviour of Augustin: if he rose to meet them, they were to consider him a man of unassuming disposition, and to listen to his demands; but, if he kept his seat, they should condemn him for pride, and reject his authority. With this sapient admonition, which left to accident the decision of the controversy, seven bishops, with Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, repaired to the place of conference. Augustin happened to be seated, and did not rise at their arrival: both his reasons and his authority were consequently despised. In points of doctrine, says Lingard, a Roman Catholic historian, there had been no difference between them; and to facilitate their compliance in other matters, the Archbishop had reduced his demands to three

heads;—that they should observe the Catholic computation of Easter, should adopt the Roman rite, in the administration of baptism, and should join with the missionaries in preaching to the Saxons. Each of these requests, in obedience to the advice of the hermit, was pertinaciously refused." In an ancient manuscript preserved among the Parker MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a passage to this effect:—"After the Saxons had become Christians by means of Austin, in such sort as Austin had taught them, the Britons would not eat or drink with them, because they had corrupted with superstitions, images, and idolatry, the true religion of Christ." The evidence of the old chronicler, who wrote thus, may be thought to require some confirmation, and it can be furnished upon the undoubted testimony of the Venerable Bede, who says, "even to this day the Britons are in the habit of expressing their contempt both for the faith and the religion of the Anglo-Saxons, and will hold no more intercourse with them than with pagans." Again—"When Bishop Danganus came to us, he not only refused to eat at the same table, but even in the same house with us." Bede related these anecdotes on the authority of Laurentius, who succeeded Augustin in the See of Canterbury, and who played the cheat of lacerating his own shoulders, pretending that he had been flogged by St. Peter, for shewing too little zeal:—pretty good proof this, that although Pope Gregory took upon himself to invest Augustin and his successors with authority over all the clergy and bishops of Britain, yet British churchmen would neither submit to Romish discipline nor adopt the corruptions of image worship, saints, and relic-worship, &c. which the Italian Pontiff attempted to impose upon them. The religion of Rome, therefore, was not at that period the universal religion; at least, not that of the

Britons nor the Scots; and, as we have seen, certainly not that of the Irish.

We have also seen, that Christianity was introduced into Northumbria by divines sent from Iona:—Wilfred, a Northumbrian bishop, was deposed by the authorities of his native country in the year 680. He went to Rome, and implored the Pope to reinstate him. This appeal to the Papal see, and the Pope's mandate for his restoration to the bishopric, were treated with equal contempt by the king and clergy of Northumberland, who declared that they would not permit the Roman prelate to exercise jurisdiction over them.

These protests were against the authority of the Roman Church: an instance of English rejection of the doctrines of Romanism, shall now be given:—In the year 787, the Council of Nice declared most solemnly, that image worship was to be observed by Christians. The Church of Rome approved of the canon. The matter was submitted to a Synod of the Clergy of England, five years afterwards; and, it was pronounced by English theologians, that the Council had "determined many things inconsistent with, and contrary to the faith, especially the worship of images, an usage altogether execrated by the Church of God."—Again, Alcuin, an Englishman, who lived at that time, wrote an epistle to prove that image worship, and the canon of the Council of Nice which sanctioned it, were contrary to Scripture. But, it is well known, that there was no such title as that of "Universal Bishop," till the time of Pope Boniface, 600 years after Christ. Image worship, as we have just seen, was never thought of till the Council of Nice, held in 787. The doctrine of transubstantiation had no existence till the Lateran Council, held in 1215. The cup was not denied to the people in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, till

the Council of Constance, held in 1414. The doctrine of purgatory, and many other novelties, had no admission as articles of belief, till the Council of Trent, held in 1545: these human inventions, together with the creed of Pope Pius IV. are, in fact, the real causes of the corruptions of the Romish branch of the Church of Christ. Now these being all questions of ecclesiastical history, they are not to be decided by empty assertion, by unmeaning declamation, by uncertain tradition, but by the writings of men inspired by the Holy Spirit, such as our Saviour's apostles, and by the *Word of God.*

Under the Anglo-Saxon dynasties, England was comparatively independent, and was more in communion with, than in subjection to, the Italian Pontiff; but the Norman line of monarchs, after William the Conqueror, submitted to the dictation of the Popes, and conceded one point after another until the nation found itself completely under the feet of a foreign bishop. The Pope then arrogated to himself the right not only of crowning, but also of uncrowning her Princes; and even now, an Englishman's cheek burns with shame and indignation, at the recollection of Henry II. (to whose doings in Ireland we shall soon have to look) consenting to be scourged at the command of that alien; and at his pusillanimous son, John, laying the crown of England at the legate's footstool, and taking it back from his hands, as the acknowledged vassal and tributary of Rome. It should be here mentioned that, at the time of the Reformation, the Pope had the audacity to revive this absurd claim of sovereignty over the realm of England, and also the impudence and folly to demand the yearly tribute of ten thousand marks, as the acknowledgment of English vassalage—and, upon what ground did the Pope make this demand?—In virtue of an impost granted by king John, and to be paid

for ever, for the removal of the interdict laid on his subjects! Thus shewing (O how different from the spirit of that pure and undefiled religion diffused by St. Patrick and St. Columba!) that the nation could only be absolved for money.

The benighted people of that day having once surrendered their spiritual liberties, they were soon forced to bend their necks to the vilest and most offensive species of thraldom, which their bondmasters of the popedom could inflict. By a sentence, called an interdict, (and to which we have just alluded) the whole kingdom, on an offence given to the Pope, in John's reign, was deprived of the public exercise of religion: the churches were ordered to be shut, and the Clergy to withhold their ministrations; and thus did the *holy Father* consign his children to the direst condition, that men can imagine,—to a famine of the *Word of God*—inconsistency worthy of Popery.

Half the landed property of the kingdom was before long in the hands of the Romish priesthood: rapacious aliens, strangers to English manners and customs, who were totally unable to speak the language of England, and who never landed on her coasts, enjoyed many of her dignities and benefices, and drained her of her wealth. The Popes levied a tax on Church income, which amounted to five times as much as the king's revenues; they claimed the goods of all who died without wills; and when they had thus made the nation crouch between two burdens—impoverishment and disgrace—they thought to rivet the chains more firmly and indelibly, by the burning brands of homage and tribute. Reduced to such a state, was it not time to cry, "Come out of her, my people," when Romish priests ceased to preach the words of eternal life, but made lying miracles, legendary tales, puerile and monstrous fables of deliverances from imaginary purgatory

the subject of their pulpit discourses. These were, however, the themes with which they beguiled and led captive the souls of men, and thus they contrived, for a time, to banish the sound of the gospel from the earth !*

We have above alluded to the Romish priesthood claiming the goods of all who died without wills; but is it not as surprising as unbecoming to find, contrary to the opinions of the highest law authorities, and even the recommendation of Commissioners, who wish to see them abolished, that the ecclesiastical laws and courts then established, should still be allowed to exist, to the serious injury and annoyance of the empire at large? In those days, Rome said that, as it had the care of a man's soul during life, it was proper that it should manage his estate after his death; more particularly as they were able to give the soul repose. Let us only imagine bishops of the Established Church conducting, generally in a most unsatisfactory manner, the business in such courts, and for which they are, even unto the present day, exorbitantly paid for probates of wills, &c., which they ought to have nothing to say to. It appears by the evidence taken by the Commissioners, that the registrar in the diocese of Chester had his office given him by his father, its bishop, when he was fourteen years of age, and that the remuneration was about £4000 a year. It is stated, that in one of the dioceses in the province of York, the registrar was very fond of smoking; he always had a pipe in his mouth, when in the office. When he wanted a light, he was in the habit of going to the "wills," and from the corner of one of them he would tear a piece, exclaiming, "Here goes another testator." We only ask, should such things be allowed in this, we hope we may still call it, Protestant empire?

* See our Protestant Forefathers, by William Stephen Gilly, D.D.

Many of the parochial benefices were then held by foreigners, French, Italians, and Spaniards, nominated by the Pope, who lived out of the country without performing any sacred duties, and consuming the produce of their livings at a distance from their flocks. This non-residence of the clergy, invited multitudes of the order of *Mendicants* or begging friars, who proved as great a plague, and as devouring as the locusts of Egypt. In the first instance, a few Dominicans were permitted to establish themselves in the country; they professed to be humble and poor, and grateful for protection; but their numbers as well as their pretensions soon increased, till the kingdom at length swarmed with them, and groaned under their extortions and licentiousness. They beset the chambers of the superstitious, and beds of the dying; and persuaded them that there was no salvation without their passport to heaven. Much of the landed property thus fell into the hands of these bare-footed pretenders to poverty, by the bequests of their dupes, who impoverished their families under the vain hope of saving their souls, and of insuring them a safe and quick passage through an imaginary purgatory.—What a contrast were the doings of such impostors to those of the meek, lowly, yet learned men, sent forth, as we have seen, from Iona, and many parts of Ireland, to preach the gospel in its purity and simplicity—men of God, prepared, if necessary, to suffer even martyrdom in the cause of God their Saviour; who, wherever they went, laboured with their own hands for a livelihood, in order that they might not be a burden to any one; and who, when they received money, food, or raiment from the wealthy, immediately distributed them among the poor and needy.

We have already seen that St. Columba and his successors were most rigidly exact in transcribing the Scrip-

tures; and that they seemed to be fully aware of, and attached vast importance to the circumstance, that as Christianity had advanced in the world, so did the credit and use of the Greek version of the Old Testament scriptures. The evangelists and apostles, who were the holy pen-men of the New Testament scriptures, all quoted from it, and so did all the primitive writers. All the Greek churches used it, and the Latins had no other copy of the scriptures in their language till Jerome's time, but what was translated from it. Whatsoever comments were written on any part of them, this was the text, and the explications were made according to it. And when other nations were converted to Christianity, and had those scriptures translated for their use into their several languages, these versions were all made from the Septuagint; as the Illyrian, the Gothic, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Syriac. There was an old Syriac version translated immediately from the Hebrew original, which is still forthcoming, and at this time made use of by all the Syrian churches in the east. But besides this, there was another Syriac version of the same Scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint. The former was made, if not in the apostles' time, yet very soon after, for the use of the Syrian churches, and it is still used by them; but this latter was not made till about six hundred years after the other, and is at this time extant in some of those churches, where they are both used simultaneously. The Maronites, and other Syrian churches boast of the antiquity of the old Syrian version. For they will have it that it was made, one part of it by the command of *Solomon*, for the use of Hiram, king of Tyre; and the other part, (that is, that part whereof the original was written after the time of Solomon) by the command of Abgarus, king of Edessa, who lived in our Saviour's time.

Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, in his history of the Jews and neighbouring nations, published in 1719, and from which we have, though not literally, been quoting, goes on to say—"It was in all likelihood made within the first century after Christ, and had for its author some Christian of the Jewish nation, that was thoroughly skilled in both languages. For it is very accurately done, and expresseth the sense of the original with greater exactness than any other version, which hath been made of those scriptures, (meaning the Old Testament) at any time before the revival of learning in the last ages; and, therefore, as it is, (excepting only the Septuagint and the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos on the Law, and Jonathan on the Prophets) the oldest translation that we have of any part of those scriptures, so it is the best without any exception at all, that have been made of them by the ancients into any language whatever. And this character belongs to it in respect of the New Testament as well as of the Old. And, therefore, of all the ancient versions which are now consulted by Christians, for the better understanding of the Holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, none can better serve this end, than this old Syriac version, when carefully consulted and well understood:"

"As this version grew in use among Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews. For they being pinched in many particulars, urged against them by the Christians out of this version, for evading hereof they entered into the same design against the Septuagint version, that in the last age, the English Papists of Doway and Rheims did against our English version; that is, they were for making a new one, that might better serve their purpose."

We find that this Romish version was published in the years 1600 and 1609. But we are at this moment, and

for various reasons, most anxious to direct attention—particularly the attention of those who may be employed to examine the old manuscript copies of the Scriptures, still in existence in Ireland, to the foregoing true account of the manner in which the correct versions of the Old and New Testaments were obtained; especially, as it was from this pure source that our English version has reached us; as, by a circular letter from the Pope, to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, respecting the disseminating the books of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and consigning them to private interpretation, alike to Christians and infidels, the practice is strongly condemned. This circular letter is evidently intended to defeat the good intentions of the "*Irish Society,*" (of which we may have more to say hereafter) of giving the Scriptures to the Irish people in their native language. This letter of the late Pope Gregory XVI. was written from Rome, from the basilica of St. Peter, on the 8th of May, of the year 1844—it will probably be highly approved of by Puseyites, who, if we mistake not, have the same reasons as the Romanists for feeling where the English version of the Scriptures *pinches.*

We have seen that St. Columba took the *rule* for his seminaries from some of the eastern churches, most of which were planted by St. Paul; and we have also seen that St. Columba, on the very day of his death, (so anxious was he to preserve the correctness and purity of his copies of the *Holy Scriptures*), was engaged in transcribing part of the 34th Psalm. And there can be no doubt, but that a man of such learning, who had visited foreign countries and cities, in order to acquire a more perfect knowledge of Christianity, and to collect religious and scientific books, must have taken every possible pains in supplying himself with the most perfect and genuine versions of the

Old and New Testaments, to be used afterwards in the seminaries and churches he intended to establish in Ireland and Scotland. Consequently, no misinterpreted version of the *Word of God* had been attempted to be pawned upon the Irish until many years after the period, when, in the inscrutable dealings of Providence with men, it was deemed fit to bring upon them the most direful calamities which can befall a nation—that of being subjugated to the iron rule of another people, and at the same time be seduced or compelled to give up the pure *Evangelical Christianity* of their forefathers—to have also, probably, forced upon them in its stead, a debasing system of theology, by the swords of their conquerors, and by a licentious and grinding priesthood; who, boasting of possessing powers or attributes, only centred in the Deity, had far, as we have before observed, outdone the Druids, who had never, with the view of enriching themselves, and to enable them to erect and embellish temples, pretended not only to be able to forgive sins already committed, but also those about to be committed—a priesthood who, to increase their gains, terrify the imaginations of their dupes with a purgatory, or intermediate place of penance, in which they cunningly contrive to confine the soul, after being separated from the body, and out of which it can only be delivered for money paid to them for their saying a certain number of masses. This agreeable and rapid transit through purgatory—according to their teaching—can not only be purchased by an individual for himself before death, but also for others; so that they can be thus pleasantly forwarded, and without any kind of obstruction from evil spirits, or any thing else to paradise!—this, for a long time, was a most profitable and flourishing trade, in which the Popes, and those commissioned by them, were delightfully engaged; but it met with a sad and most unlooked-

for check, from which it has not as yet quite recovered, at the time of the *Reformation*, of which D'Aubigné remarks, that "the cause of truth recompenses those who embrace and defend it. Since the sixteenth century, at the moment when Rome hoped to triumph by her Jesuits and scaffolds, the victory escaped out of her hands: Rome fell, like Naples, like Portugal, like Spain, into interminable difficulties; whilst at the same time two Protestant nations raised themselves, and began to exercise in Europe an influence which had hitherto belonged chiefly to Roman Catholic states. England came out victorious from the attacks of France and Spain, which the Pope had for a long time excited against her; and the elector of Brandenburg, in spite of the anger of Clement XI., surrounded his head with a royal crown. England has from that time spread her dominion throughout all parts of the world; and Prussia has taken a new rank among the continental powers: whilst another empire, also separated from Rome, has increased in her immense deserts. Thus it is that Gospel principles have proved their efficacy upon the countries who have received them, and have shewn that piety raises a nation. Let the people who have embraced Gospel truth fully understand that it is to Protestantism that they owe their greatness. From the moment that they abandon the position which God has enabled them to take, and lean anew towards Rome, they will lose their power and glory."

These are as wise as judicious remarks; but respecting this glorious *Reformation*,—denounced by deluded Puseyites, as well as Romanists, as the work of the devil and Martin Luther—what is to be found in Daniel, viii. 13, 14; and Revelation xi. 2? which speak of the termination of his 2300 prophetic days, when the sanctuary so long polluted by the Gentiles of the demonolatrous apostacy,

began to be cleansed; and has it never struck the reader, and these denouncers, that as this cleansing commenced in the year 1517, as foretold by Daniel it would, that it could not possibly be any thing else than the great *Reformation*, which was at that very time to take place in the long corrupted Church of Christ?—That the Reformers of that period went, in all probability, too far, seems to be obvious—the irreverent manner in which Divine Service is performed in almost every Church in Great Britain and Ireland proves they did so—in their anxiety to suppress popery, they unwisely stripped the worship of God of its necessary impressiveness. This should, as soon as possible, be restored, whilst, at the same time, due pains are taken to prevent all *leaning* towards popish inventions, as well as corruptions of *Primitive Christianity*.

But we shall now, having, we trust, sufficiently shewn the nature of the religion about to be predominant in rapidly declining Ireland, proceed to lay before our readers the fruits of our farther researches, as well as the impressions which they have left upon our minds.

SECTION V.

" Ireland was conferred upon Henry II. of England, by Pope Adrian IV., on condition that he would revive the profession of the Christian faith, which he considered was dead throughout the island; that he should polish the rude manners of the inhabitants, defend and restore the rights and revenues of the church and clergy, and take especial care that every inhabited house in the kingdom should pay one penny to the Pope, under the name of " *Peter's Penny.*"—*Stowe's Annals of England, and Pope Adrian's Bull.*

DIARMUID MAC MORROGH, king of Leinster, having been forced, as we have already seen, from his dominions, was bent upon revenge; and determined to punish his rebellious subjects, whatever might be the consequences, though the peace and happiness of his country might be sacrificed in the attempt. For this purpose, he repaired into France, to Henry II. of England, who was then " making war" in that country. The English monarch declined engaging personally in the quarrel; but, was pleased to recommend the justice of Diarmuid's cause to his subjects in England; and by his " letters patent" assured them that, whosoever would afford him assistance towards his restoration, should not only have full liberty to " transport their forces, but be held to do very acceptable service therein." Diarmuid gratefully acknowledged the civility he met with from Henry, and taking leave of that prince, he left France, and soon after landed at Bristol. He presented his " letters patent" to the magistrates of that city, who had them publicly read. And, to encourage men to enter upon the enterprise, he made ample promises of lands to such as were willing to do so. " In Bristol he met Richard

MacGilbert, son to the Earl of Strangwell, to whom he engaged that, if he would appear in his cause, and raise a body of men for his service, he would bestow upon him his daughter Aoiffe, who was heiress-apparent to his dominions, and as a dowry, would confirm to him and his heirs the crown of Leinster after his decease." These terms were joyfully accepted by the English nobleman.

Diarmuid thus encouraged in England, next proceeded into Wales, where he was informed that, a nobleman of signal courage, and an experienced commander, named Robert Fitz Stephen, was detained as a prisoner for some traitorous practices against the king of England. He considered that this person would be of vast importance in carrying on his designs; he therefore entered into negociations with Ralph Griffin, who then governed Wales for Henry II., and at last, through the influence of Maurice Fitz Gerald, and the Bishop of St. Davids, he was able to effect the release of Fitz Stephen, "upon condition that he should transport himself into Ireland between that time and the summer following, and contribute his utmost to the restoration of the king of Leinster." Diarmuid engaged to confer upon Fitz Stephen the town of Wexford, and the two canthreds of the lands adjacent, as a reward for his services.

The king of Leinster, having been so far successful, he proceeded with great privacy, and with a few attendants only into Ireland, so as to be ready to receive the succours he expected from England and Wales. He arrived at Fearna in disguise, and making himself known to the clergy of that place, they undertook to conceal and protect him till his designs were ripe for execution. There he remained untill the summer following, by which time Robert Fitz Stephen having completed his preparations, and raised as many troops as he could, he landed at a place called

Cuan an Bhoimbh, upon the border of Wexford, with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred foot soldiers. He was likewise accompanied by a valiant knight, named Hermon Morty, a follower of the Earl of Strangwell, " who was sent by him to inspect into the manners and disposition of the Irish, and to make discoveries of the produce and the extent of the island."—This shews clearly how little of Ireland was at that period known in England, and how much the Irish were then secluded from the rest of the world.

The news of Fitz Stephen and his companions' arrival was very acceptable to Diarmuid, who immediately left his place of concealment; and putting himself at the head of five hundred horse, whom he had in constant readiness, he made all possible haste to join the English, and to commence operations before his enemies were apprised of his designs, or were in a capacity to oppose him. The siege of Wexford was immediately decided upon, and arrangements made accordingly; but, the inhabitants were so terrified at the approach of the king of Leinster, that to avoid an assault, they opened their gates, and placed themselves at the mercy of the victors. " Diarmuid then, in fulfilment of his engagement, bestowed the town of Wexford, and two canthreds of the adjacent lands, upon Fitz Stephen; and he likewise conferred the other two canthreds upon Hermon Morty. Having thus rewarded his auxiliaries, Diarmuid mustered his force, and found that it already consisted of a complete body of 3000 men."

He then decamped, and marched towards Ossery, with the intention of plundering the country and reducing it to obedience. The king of Ossery finding himself unable to oppose the invaders, summoned a council of his principal nobility and gentry, who, after mature deliberation, found that they had nothing for it, but to send hostages to the

king of Leinster, in proof of their submission; and they also agreed to pay him an annual tax, as his tributaries. By this means they were able to induce the king of Leinster to restrain the fury of the soldiers.

"By this time the whole kingdom was alarmed with the success of Diarmuid and his auxiliary English; and to prevent the calamities of a civil war, the chiefs of the island, both nobles and gentry, applied to Roderick O'Connor, king of Ireland, to consult upon a proper method to put a stop to the ambitious designs of the king of Leinster, and scatter the impending storm before it grew formidable, and in a capacity of overwhelming the island in blood and confusion. A convention of the estates therefore was assembled, and after many debates, it was agreed, that every province should supply the king of Ireland with a certain number of troops, to enable him to confine Diarmuid within the bounds of his own province, and to drive the English out of the country. When Roderick found his army complete, he marched towards Jobh Cincealach, with the intention of giving battle to the king of Leinster. But Diarmuid being much inferior in numbers, determined not to stand the shock of this formidable army, but retreated before Roderick with his troops into the woods and wilderness, which at that time stood near Fearna, and which afforded him a secure retreat. The king of Ireland, perceiving that the enemy would not abide the issue of a battle, but that they lurked in the woods and avoided the attack, he sent to Fitz Stephen orders that, he should instantly leave the country with all his followers; for, the cause he was engaged in was unjust and dishonourable, and he had no right to a foot of land throughout the island. Fitz Stephen despised this proud command, and returned for answer, that he had no inclination to quit the country and would never forsake the king

of Leinster, but prosecute his right as long as he had a man left.

"Roderick, enraged with this reply, divided his army into small bodies, and gave orders to his officers to enter the woods and attack the king of Leinster in his fastnesses; and he commanded them to give no quarter to native or foreigner, but to put them all to the sword, and by that means at once to bring the war to an end.

"But the clergy of the province of Leinster, perceiving that these commotions would be of fatal consequence to their country; and that these intestine broils were destructive to the peace and the established revenues of the church, resolved to use their utmost efforts in reconciling the two kings, and securing the kingdom from bloodshed and other miseries, that the continuation of the war made unavoidable. For that purpose, they assembled in a body, and marched towards the army of the king of Ireland. When they arrived, they were admitted into the king's presence, and prostrating themselves before him, as humble supplicants, they besought him to commiserate the distressed state of his country, and prevent the effusion of christian blood, by ceasing hostilities, and entering into a treaty with the king of Leinster. Roderick, who was a prince of a merciful disposition, relented at this representation of the clergy, and was contented to withdraw his army, and come into pacific terms with Diarmuid. It was consequently agreed upon, that Diarmuid should enjoy the government of Leinster, in as full extent as any of his predecessors did before him; he was obliged to send hostages to the king of Ireland, as a security for his future obedience, and that he would not embroil the kingdom in new troubles; he was likewise bound to promise fealty and homage to the crown of Ireland, as the kings of Leinster had ever done to the Irish monarchs, and engage that he would give no

encouragement to foreigners to invade the island; particularly that the English should have no protection from him, but be compelled to quit the country. These conditions were accepted by Diarmuid, who, as an evidence of his integrity, delivered to Roderick, as an hostage, his son, named Art na Ngiall; and, the king of Ireland stipulated that he would bestow his sister in marriage upon the king of Leinster; by which alliance, it was hoped, that a lasting peace would be established between the two families, and the island restored to its former tranquillity."

These happy prospects were soon obscured. In the following summer, Maurice Fitz Gerald, remembering the promise which it seems he had made to the king of Leinster, landed in Ireland. Nor was he without hopes that by assisting that prince to recover his rights, he should be entitled to a great reward, and obtain large possessions in the country. The number of men he brought with him consisted of only ten knights, thirty esquires, and one hundred foot, whom he landed at Wexford. He soon notified his arrival to the king of Leinster and Fitz Stephen, the English general; when Diarmuid, urged on by his ambitious designs, resolved to break the peace, and, with his auxiliary English, again to try his fortune in the field. Accordingly, he marched with his troops to Wexford to congratulate Fitz Gerald on his arrival, and to assign him a command in his army suitable to his rank and experience. With this additional aid, he resolved to commence the campaign with the siege of Dublin, the inhabitants of which had always professed themselves enemies to his father and himself; he therefore determined to humble the pride and chastise the insolence of its haughty citizens. These hostile demonstrations alarmed the magistrates of Dublin, who summoned a council, in which it was decided to make peace with the king of Leinster upon any terms,

and thus prevent the city from being plundered. They therefore sent to his camp a large quantity of gold, silver, jewels, silks, and other valuable presents, and surrendered themselves to his mercy. They promised likewise to pay whatever tribute was laid upon them; and, to atone for their past misconduct, by a double share of duty and fidelity. These articles were accepted by Diarmuid, and the citizens were, for a time, delivered from their fears.

"These successes greatly animated the king of Leinster, and made him naturally remember that many of his ancestors had worn the crown of Ireland; and also inspired him with hopes of yet becoming its monarch. He therefore talked of his views to Fitz Stephen and Fitz Gerald, who approved of them, and shewed him that he had now become formidable, and might with little difficulty place the crown of Ireland upon his head; yet, they advised him to act cautiously, and not to enter upon the execution of his plans, until his army was reinforced from England, when he would find himself so circumstanced as not to have any reason to apprehend disappointment. This approbation of the English commanders greatly increased the ambitious views of Diarmuid, who, delighted with the friendship and evident sincerity of his auxiliaries, offered his daughter to either of them, as a reward for their zeal and faithful services; but they both had too much honour to accept of the lady, because she had been formerly promised to the Earl of Strangwell, when Diarmuid was soliciting aid from the crown of England. They also advised him to apply immediately to that powerful nobleman, to write to him an obliging letter, requesting him to come over to his assistance with the forces he had promised him, and engaging that the conditions on his part should be fulfilled; that the marriage to his daughter should be solemnized, and that he was ready to settle the crown of

Leinster upon him, and his heirs after his decease. He was also advised to signify to the Earl that his affairs went on prosperously, that his province of Leinster was recovered, and that he had a fair prospect of being able to reduce the other four provinces under his government, and of establishing himself in the monarchy of the whole island."

The letter containing this intelligence was received by the Earl of Strangwell—or as he is usually called, Strongbow—who, reflecting upon the good fortune of the king of Leinster, and the success of his countrymen, Maurice Fitz Gerald and Robert Fitz Stephen, he determined to accept the invitation, and to go immediately into Ireland. But he deemed it necessary to apply to his sovereign, the king of England, for leave to quit the kingdom, in order "to seek his fortune abroad, for he was weary of an inactive life, and requested his permission to try the mettle of his sword in foreign countries." The king, unwilling to discourage the enterprising spirit of the noble Earl, nor yet prepared to bear the blame if he should fail, neither gave his actual license, nor altogether repulsed him with a refusal, but allowed him to act as he pleased. The Earl from this, taking it for granted that the king had no objections, he determined to proceed in his preparations for his Irish expedition. But before he went to Ireland in person, he thought it best to send before him two officers of rank, Redmond de la Grose, and William Fitz Gerald, (the elder brother of Maurice) with a small body of troops, to inquire into the state of affairs, and signify to the king of Leinster, and his countrymen, that he would soon follow with large reinforcements, and in all respects fulfil his promises. These officers landed at Dun Domhnail, four miles from Waterford; and, according to Stanihurst's chronicle, the number who were sent over at this time, consisted of no more than ten knights, ten esquires, and

sixty foot soldiers; and when they had landed, they erected a strong fort of stones and sods, as a defence against attacks from the natives.

When the inhabitants of Waterford and Maolseachluin O'Faolain, king of the Deisies, received intelligence that the English had fortified themselves in their neighbourhood, they determined to attack the fort, which was defended only by a handful of men, and to put them all to the sword, before they could be reinforced. Accordingly, a select body of 200 men, under the command of an experienced officer, was ordered to dislodge the foreigners, and not to suffer a man of them to escape.

Redmond de la Grose, who commanded the fort, observing the Irish advancing towards him, resolved to attack them before they reached the walls; and drawing out his small number of men, he led them on, and with great indiscretion began the charge. But the Irish receiving him courageously, soon convinced him of his error; and finding them to be more numerous than he calculated upon, he sounded a retreat, expecting to reach the fort with a trifling loss; but the Irish furiously attacked his rear, and pursued him so hotly, that he was obliged to face about; and fighting with desperate courage at the head of his company, he so astonished the Irish, that they were not able to stand the shock, but gave way, and fled for their lives. The slaughter in this affair was terrible; for the English were a handful of brave and well disciplined troops, who soon broke the ranks of the numerous raw, untrained Irish, and completely defeated them.

The year following, upon St. Bartholomew's day, in the time of harvest, the Earl of Strangwell landed at Waterford with a strong body of troops, consisting of 200 valiant knights, and 1000 esquires, who were bowmen. He immediately informed the king of Leinster, and his country-

men, Robert Fitz Stephen and Redmond de la Grose, of his arrival. Diarmuid received this intelligence with great joy; and with his auxiliary English set off to welcome the Earl. After a short time spent in ceremonies and mutual civilities, a council of war was held, wherein it was decided that the army should instantly take the field, and commence operations with the siege of the town of Waterford. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence, but the valiant Earl Strangwell was not to be repelled. His soldiers greatly distinguished themselves in the assault, and when they had carried the town, in their fury, they destroyed all they met with, and gave no quarter.

We are told, that when Strongbow was marching to Wexford, to relieve Fitz Stephen, he was attacked by O'Rian and his followers; but O'Rian being slain, his party were easily discomfited. It was in this affair that Strongbow's only son, a youth about seventeen years of age, terrified by the numbers and wild cries of the Irish, ran away from the battle, and made towards Dublin. But being informed of his father's victory, he joyfully returned to congratulate him. The severe general, however, having first reproached him with cowardice, caused him to be immediately executed, by cutting him off in the middle with a sword. So great an abhorrence had they of dastardliness in those days, that, in imitation of the old Romans, they punished it with a severity which, how commendable soever it may be in a general, was nevertheless unnatural in a father.

The following epitaph on Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow, and his son, is to be seen in Christ Church, Dublin :—

"Nate ingrate mihi pugnanti terga dedisti,
Non mihi sed genti Regno quoque terga dedisti."

After the reduction of Waterford, the king of Leinster's daughter, Aoiffe, or Eva, was sent for, and married there,

with great solemnity, to Earl Strangwell, upon the conditions formerly stipulated. After the celebration of the nuptial rites, the Earl left his lady and the town of Waterford in charge of a strong guard, and, at the head of his troops, directed his march upon Dublin. Never did the approach of an enemy make a more terrible impression upon the inhabitants of a distressed city, than the second advance of the Irish and English did upon this occasion; and never did a victorious general lay siege to a town with more fury and resentment in his heart, than raged in that of Diarmuid against the people of Dublin, who had killed his father, and used his body in an ignominious manner after his death; for they had buried a dead dog, as a mark of their hatred, in the same grave with it, and offered it such indignities as history can scarcely parallel. The citizens being, therefore, aware of what they had to expect from the king of Leinster, decided upon sending to him Laurence O'Tuathail, or O'Toole, styled archbishop of Dublin, with a commission to treat for the surrender of the city upon any terms; for they were now sensible of their misconduct, and by way of atonement, were anxious to purchase his forbearance at the expense of all the gold and silver they could raise; and they were also ready to deliver to him such hostages as would insure their future obedience and submission.

But, whilst the Archbishop was interceding for the acceptance of these conditions, it happened that Meills Cogan and Redmond de la Grose, with a strong body of English knights, who were posted on the opposite side of the city, carried on the attack with such vigour and success, that they had made a considerable breach in the walls, and thereby entered the city. In their first excitement, the soldiers slew every one they met with. The gates were then secured for the king of Leinster, who leaving a strong

garrison in the place to defend it, set off in pursuit of farther conquests.

For the following excellent account of the final expulsion of the Danes from Ireland, and other matters, we are indebted to the Editor of the "Dublin Penny Journal."

"There appears to be no doubt but that the Danes or Ostmen, were the founders and colonizers of Dublin; as, indeed, they appear to have been of the most important towns in Ireland; such as Cork, Waterford, Limerick, &c. Stanihurst observes—"the Dane did well—for our city is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome: if you would traverse hills, they are not far off; if champaign ground, it lieth of all parts; if you be delighted with water, the famous river called the Liffey, named of Ptolemy Lyleinum, runneth fast by: if you will take a view of the sea, it is at hand:"—Stanihurst adds—"Until the arrival of the Danes, such means of strength the Irish had not, for until these days they knew no defence but woods, bogs, and strokes." The colonization of the Danes in Dublin, and other maritime places, had a great effect, as we have already remarked, on the character of the Irish. Their commerce with the Ostmen in peace, made them more acquainted with the wants of civilized life; and their contests in war made them more expert in the art of attack and defence. But nothing could effect a continued unity of purpose among the Irish chieftains. The Danish king at one time meditated between the contending chiefs, and at another time sided with the weakest; occasionally protected a usurper, or set himself up as the avenger of blood. Thus did he establish his influence, and secure his hold upon Ireland; and long after the Danish power was broken in the interior of the island, the Ostmen still remained firmly rooted in Dublin. It was reserved for those mailed warriors, the Normans, who had acquired in

France, Italy, and other parts of Europe, all the arts of civilized warfare, and the discipline connected with chivalrous training, without losing any of their Scandinavian hardihood, to upset the Ostman power in Dublin. The Ostman king, or rather viceroy, Asculph McForcall, escaped with difficulty on this occasion to his ships in the bay; and thus Dublin changed masters.

"But it was too valuable a possession to be allowed to remain quietly in the hands of its new occupiers. The Normans, under their leader Strongbow, had fallen under the jealous displeasure of Henry II. of England, who ordered them to return home, and while they were hesitating what to do, O'Connor, the Irish monarch, entered into a confederacy with the ejected Ostman king of Dublin, who had gone amongst his Danish allies in the north to raise supplies. Laurence O'Toole, the archbishop of Dublin, true, as we are told, to the Milesian cause, and anxious to get rid of the English, did all he could to persuade Strongbow to surrender, who, seeing the difficulties he had to encounter, was inclined to take this advice: but, unfortunately, the Irish not knowing the enemy they had to deal with, insisted on such extravagant terms, that they were rejected: and Miles de Cogan, the bravest of the Anglo-Normans, advised a sudden and desperate sally upon the Irish. Accordingly five hundred men, led on by Cogan, supported by Strongbow, and Raymond le Grose, broke in upon the Irish lines at Finglas—and this handful of determined and desperate men actually routed the Irish host, and nearly took king O'Connor prisoner, who at the time was enjoying the luxury of a bath.

"The Irish army were scarcely dispersed, when McForcall appeared with his Ostman shipping and forces in the river. These were so numerous, that he had full expecta-

tion of recovering his lost city; and had he arrived in time, and joined in the attack with the Irish monarch, there is some reason to believe that the Norman-English might have been driven out of the country. But, as our authority says, the fortune of war was otherwise. There is, however, a great deal of romantic interest attached to this last account of the struggle of the Danes with the Anglo-Normans. As Strongbow had his brave and valiant knight, the indomitable Miles de Cogan, so McForcall was attended by a Scandinavian, named John le Dane, or John the Mad. Maurice Regan reports that this northern Hector was of such enormous prowess, that with one blow of his battle-axe he could cut the thigh bones of the horsemen like cheese, and their legs would fall off like so many cabbage stalks to the ground. Thus these two fierce knights were matched together, and dreadful must have been the struggle as they met—"Foot to foot, and hand to hand." But this is not the only romantic circumstance attending this celebrated engagement. A petty king of the name of Gille Mo Holmock, of Ostman descent, but who had adopted the manners, dress, and habits of the Irish, and who governed a district not far from Dublin, came and offered the English his assistance. "No," says Miles Cogan, in the pride of his knighthood, "we won't have your help!"—"all we want you to do is this: if we beat the Danes, cut off their retreat to their ships, and help us to kill them; and if we be defeated, and are forced to fly, why, fall on us, and cut our throats, sooner than let us be taken prisoners by these pirates."

"The performance of these conditions, Gille Mo Holmock swore to observe, and he stood aloof while the Ostmen marched to assault Dublin. The assault was made at Dame Gate, and the furious onset was headed by John le Dane; but Miles le Cogan stood there to oppose him, just

where the entrance to the lower castle yard now is. But in the mean time, the Norman knights, who had learned in the battle fields of Italy and France the military arts and stratagems by which superior numbers may be matched and overpowered, made, under the command of Richard de Cogan, a sally from the postern, then called Pole Gate, at the foot of Ship-street, and taking a circuit through the fields, whereon now stand Stephen's-street, and George-street, John le Dane was attacked both in flank and front. This decided the day. John le Dane was slain by Miles de Cogan, and McForcall was taken prisoner by Richard de Cogan, and hanged the next morning; while Gille Mo Holmock, true to his promise, fell upon the retreating Danes, and cut them to pieces, so that few escaped to their ships in the Liffey." Thus ended the dominion of the sea-kings in Ireland.

O'Rourk, whose wife, as we have already seen, Diarmuid had carried off, was still king of Breifne. He had consequently always been the declared enemy of the king of Leinster, who now entered his country with fire and sword, committing unheard-of barbarities upon its inhabitants. O'Rourk was thereby reduced to great extremities, and Diarmuid's pride and ambition were so highly elevated by his successes, that he now looked sanguinely forward to the crown of Ireland—little imagining that he was thus rapidly effecting the ruin of his country, as well as his own degradation.

Roderick O'Connor, king of Ireland, now became greatly alarmed at the king of Leinster's rapid progress; being convinced that no treaties or obligations could bind a prince, who seemed resolved to despise all engagements which opposed his prospects or designs; for he had broken the peace just concluded, in a most disgraceful manner, not even considering that his son was a hostage, or that

he had sworn allegiance to him, as king of Ireland. But before Roderick took the field to chastise his insolence, he thought proper to send a messenger to expostulate with him upon his breach of faith, to upbraid him for his perjury and perfidiousness, and to assure him, that if he would not return to his duty, and send back the English to their own country, he would send him his son's head, lay him under a public interdict, and also oblige him again to quit the island. This message was delivered; but it made no impression upon Diarmuid, who knew himself to be too well supported to be terrified by words. He, therefore, returned for answer, "that he would not send back the English, but sooner transport more of them into the country; and that he would not lay down his arms until he had reduced the whole kingdom under his authority; and withal, that if the king of Ireland offered to take away the life of his son, he would revenge his death by hostilities yet unheard of, and not give up his resentment without a complete destruction of himself and his family." Roderick was astonished at the insolence of this petty prince; and resolved, in his passion, to execute his purpose upon the royal hostage he had in his hands; but upon mature reflection, he desisted, and wisely considered that his enemy was in possession of a great part of the kingdom, and a terror to what of it remained unsubdued; that the events of war were uncertain, and that such a barbarous act would render him odious to his people, whose affections were his only support against the prevailing power of a successful and haughty enemy.

The king of England had by this time received intelligence of the proceedings of his subjects in Ireland, under the conduct of the Earl of Strangwell, or Strongbow, and other commanders; and not approving of their designs, he issued a proclamation, that no ship or bark should sail

for Ireland out of any English port; and that no trade or correspondence should be maintained with that island, under the severest penalties; and that all the English in that kingdom should immediately return, upon pain of losing their estates, and of being declared rebels and traitors. This proclamation soon found its way to Earl Strangwell, who immediately called a council of the English officers, in which it was decided that they should not quit the country at once, but that Redmond de la Grose should go to the king of England, and represent to his Majesty that it was by his own royal permission, that Earl Strangwell had espoused the cause of Diarmuid Mac Morrogh, king of Leinster; and that the English had no intention of withdrawing their allegiance from their natural sovereign, but purposed to conquer the country in his name.

This message from his subjects in Ireland reached Henry II. in France. He soon after returned to England, and sent one of his knights, named Hermon Morty, with letters to the Earl of Strangwell. Redmond de la Grose was likewise ordered back to the Earl, who, on receiving the letters sent by him, found that he was instantly to repair to England, and give an account of his conduct to his Majesty. When he came to court, he was admitted into the king's presence; and after he had faithfully informed him of the state of Irish affairs, he offered to deliver up the possession of Dublin, Waterford, and other principal towns in the province of Leinster, into his Majesty's hands, if he would be pleased, by his royal grant, to confirm to him and his heirs the enjoyment of the remaining parts of that province. The king condescended to accept of these terms, and in a short time followed the Earl with a numerous army into Ireland. He landed at Waterford in the year 1172, attended by five hundred knights, and by a fine army of horse and foot.

"Henry remained for some time at Waterford, which he made his head quarters, and thither came the burghers of Wexford, and the English from various parts of Ireland, to do homage to him, and to submit to his authority. Diarmuid More Mac Carty, king of Cork, likewise made there a tender of his submission to king Henry, which was accepted. From Waterford the king removed to Cashel, where he was met by Daniel O'Bryen, king of Limerick, who submitted himself, and promised faithful obedience, in the same manner as Diarmuid, king of Cork, had done. The king of England was pleased with this success, and sent a party of horse and foot to secure Cork and Limerick. At Cashel the principal nobility of Munster waited upon him, and promised him obedience. From thence he returned to Waterford, where he received homage from the king of Ossery, and assurances of his future obedience. From Waterford Henry removed to Dublin, where he was met by the nobility of the province of Leinster, whose submission he removed, and promised to continue them in possession of their lawful privileges."

"This general defection was most discouraging to Roderick O'Connor, as well as to the greater part of the people of the island. But Roderick, finding himself abandoned by so many of his countrymen, even of the highest rank, who chose rather to submit to a foreign yoke, than attempt, by force of arms, to repel such hosts of warlike foreigners; he, therefore, making a virtue of necessity, determined likewise to submit to the king of England. Whilst influenced by such feelings and humiliating reflections, "he received a message from Henry, by two principal noblemen, Hugo de Lacy, and William de Aldemel, with a kind invitation to wait upon their master, who was with his army on the banks of the Shannon. The king of Ireland was obliged to comply, and accordingly he met the English monarch at the place

appointed, who received him with much generosity and friendship; and after mutual compliments, a peace was concluded in presence of the nobility of both kingdoms. Morrough Mac Floinn was at this time king of Meath; and he also acknowledged the supremacy of the king of England, so that there was a universal submission, nor was there any king, prince, or nobleman throughout the island, who refused to accept of these invitations, or did not pay homage to the English crown."

The following spring, urgent business requiring Henry's presence in England, he disposed of the troops he left in Ireland, in proper garrisons, for the defence of the country, and to suppress all attempts that might be made by the natives, in case they should, in any respect, be troublesome under his government. Hugo de Lacy he left with twenty knights in Meath, and bestowed upon him that country; and confirmed it, by his royal grant, also to his posterity, The command of the city of Dublin he committed to Robert FitzStephen, and Maurice FitzGerald, and allowed them twenty knights for guard. He left William de Aldemel in the government of Wexford, and joined with him in commission, Philip de Hastings, and Philip de Bruss, who likewise had twenty knights in their service. To the command of Waterford he appointed Humphry Bohun, Hugo Gundavil, and Robert MacBernard, who were attended by twenty knights. And thus, strange to say, had the descendants of the high-minded *Milesians* almost without resistance, or, apparently, remonstrance, delivered themselves and their country into the hands of the king of England. But their national councils seem to have been confounded, and their energy paralysed. —Alas! how lamentally these once great and enlightened Christians had fallen,—may we presume to say,—in consequence of their yielding, as most of them had now begun

to do, to the baneful influences of a "strong delusion," and of their having abandoned that "*Gospel truth*, which exalteth a nation," and which had been so long and wisely cherished by their pious ancestors.

Stowe, the English annalist, asserts, that Pope Adrian the Fourth, bestowed the kingdom of Ireland upon Henry II., in the first year of his reign—that is, in 1154. He likewise states, "that Ireland was conferred upon the king of England, on condition that he would revive the profession of the Christian faith, which he considered was dead throughout the island; that he should polish the rude manners of the inhabitants, defend and restore the rights and revenues of the church and clergy, and take especial care, that every inhabited house in the kingdom, should pay one penny to the Pope, under the name of *Peter's penny*."—Of this there can be no doubt; for, we have now before us, a copy of Pope Adrian's Bull to that effect; and, were it not that it would occupy too much space, we would have brought it into this section; the reader will, however, find it, at page 213, Vol. 2., of Keating's General History of Ireland. It therefore would appear, that the reason why Diarmuid, king of Leinster, applied for redress of his wrongs, to the king of England was, that Henry laid claim to the kingdom of Ireland, by virtue of a donation from two Popes; (Adrian IV. and Alexander III.) and consequently, that Henry had power, by his thus acquired superior authority, to adjust the pretences of the princes of Ireland, as well as to take a part in their disputes; and therefore to interpose in the quarrel of the king of Leinster, and to reinstate him. But, to the following remark of Dr. Keating, in his General History of Ireland, we beg the particular attention of our readers, as well as of Roman Catholics in general:—"It must be surprising to every one, who makes himself acquainted with Irish history, to find such an expression in the Bull of Pope

Adrian, as " that the king of England was to enjoy the crown of Ireland, upon condition, that he would revive the Christian faith, and restore it to its former lustre;" as if Christianity had been expelled, and the people had returned to a state of paganism and idolatry. Whoever gave this account to the Pope, was as great an enemy to truth, as he was to the glory of the Irish nation: since it is evident beyond contradiction, that the religion that was propagated in the island by St. Patrick, was never totally suppressed, though, by frequent confusions in the state, it might sometimes be a little obscured. And this is confirmed, not only by writers among the Irish, but by many authors of other nations; for notwithstanding, as the Venerable Bede relates in his History of England, there was a difference between the Irish and the English clergy, and some of the former were infected with the heresy of Pelagius, yet the principal and more learned part of the clergy of Ireland were free from the contagion of those pestilential doctrines; and not only kept the Christian faith alive, but, by their preaching and example, occasioned it to flourish throughout the greatest part of the island, especially from the reign of the illustrious Bryen Boiroimhe till Henry II. landed upon the coast."—This surely corroborates what, we think, we before proved—that primitive, apostolic Christianity, according to the doctrines inculcated by St. Patrick, St. Columba and their followers, and untainted with the novelties of Popery, continued to be cherished in Ireland, till very near the time, when Henry II. of England, unfortunately for the former, set his foot upon its shores; for, we soon after see, this probably still not greatly corrupted religion, attacked and suppressed by the rapacious commanders he left behind him in Ireland, and its professors so shamefully treated, that we ought not to be surprised that the very name of *Norman* or *Saxon*, should be detested by their descendants, even unto the present

day. For nothing civil or sacred seems to have escaped the fury and cupidity of these men: churches and seminaries were alike plundered and destroyed without mercy or distinction: we can hardly believe it, but some writers assert that, murders, rapes, and the most unconscionable oppressions were the recreations of these barbarians, who, without remorse or regret, confounded everything, human or divine, and made Ireland a most deplorable scene of bloodshed and misery. "The Earl of Strangwell, Robert Fitz Stephen, Hugo de Lacy, John de Courcy, and William de Aldemel, were severe instruments in the hands of Providence, to chastise the divided and degraded natives." Stanihurst testifies, that "the Earl of Strangwell, after he had committed inexpressible outrages upon the Irish, ravaging and destroying churches and monasteries, and expelling the clergy," (we may conclude, because they did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope—for all these noblemen were *real, stanch Catholics*) "died miserably in Dublin, in the year 1177, after a tyranny of seven years from his first landing in Ireland."

It was before mentioned that Earl Strangwell had married Aoiffe, the daughter of the king of Leinster; "by this princess, he had an only daughter, Isabella, who married William Marshal, an Englishman, by whom she had five sons and five daughters; the daughters were married to English noblemen, among whom were divided the country of Leinster, in the year 1230, which brought great and lasting calamities upon its people."

"When Hugo de Lacy had established himself in Meath, he treated Clan Colman, as well as the nobility of the country most injuriously; he put many persons of distinction to the sword, and reduced the people to the greatest distress. On account of the barbarities he committed, he was hated by every one, and murdered by a young gentleman of that country; but, Hugo de Lacy, his son, severely per-

secuted and revenged his death upon the people of Meath; for being supported by John de Courcy, he fell upon them, plundered the country, and committed the most cruel outrages, that fire and sword in the hands of an enraged enemy could execute."

Stanihurst mentions that "William de Aldemel was of a malicious and cruel disposition,—was miserably covetous, —the most fickle, false-hearted, and inconstant of men." The old annals of Ireland state that, "when he held the command of Limerick, under the king of England, there arose a violent contest between two princes of the line of O'Connor, who were brothers, respecting the government of the province of Conacht, in which Aldemel supported Cathall Corrach, and John de Courcy declared himself in favour of the other brother, Cathall Crobhdearg. Troops were in consequence raised, many encounters took place, and the province was plundered by both parties. In this contest the nobility of Conacht were destroyed; for it at last ended in a decisive battle, which was fought courageously by the Irish and English on both sides, and victory was for some time in suspense; but, the party of Cathall Carrach was at last defeated, and he himself slain. After this action, William de Aldemel built a strong castle at Mileach O'Madden, and then returned to Limerick."

"Cathall Crobhdearg now laid close seige to Mileach O'Madden, but the garrison becoming alarmed, and fearing that if the castle was carried by assault, they would all be put to the sword, they deemed it most prudent to evacuate it, and to escape by night to Limerick. Cathall, in the morning finding the place undefended, set it on fire and totally destroyed it."

"Upon this William de Aldemel raised more troops, and marched into Conacht, which he plundered, and carried off from it immense booty. But cruelty was the ruling

passion in the mind of this commander, and which he resolved to gratify. He therefore put every one he met with to the sword, without distinction of clergy or laity; demolished the churches and religious houses throughout the province. For this impious and inhuman conduct he was excommunicated by the clergy of Conacht." This transaction is recorded in the Irish annals, and it is added, that "the vengeance of heaven pursued this barbarous nobleman, and afflicted him with awful distortions, and strange diseases, which were utterly incurable; so that he died in a most deplorable state, yet without exhibiting any symptoms of remorse or repentance; and, he was therefore refused the rites of Christian burial; his body being carried to a village, the inhabitants of which he had murdered, thrown into a pit, from whence it was never removed."

About this time, there were violent contentions between John de Courcy, and the young Hugo de Lacy, which were kept up with great animosity on both sides. In these disputes most of the principal nobility and gentry of Ulster and Meath lost their lives, whilst the people were heartlessly plundered. At last, John de Courcy was taken prisoner by Hugo de Lacy, who accused him of treasonable practices against the crown of England, and delivered him up to the English, who undertook to prove what was alleged against him, and who sent him to England to answer for his conduct. On his arrival, the king ordered him to be laid in irons; but he soon managed to be released from his confinement, and also to obtain the royal license to return to Ireland. It is said, that with this intention he put fourteen times to sea, and was as often driven back by storms. He again, however, weighed anchor; but, being encountered by a violent tempest, he was forced by it upon the French coast, where he landed; and there, according to Stanihurst, he died. This annalist also states,

that one of the family of de Courcy having after this event, established himself in Ireland, he was treacherously slain by Hugo de Lacy and his brother Walter. To revenge this act, the relatives of the deceased flew to arms, and many were the misfortunes and sufferings which arose out of the contentions of these two powerful families, and which disturbed the peace of the whole kingdom; insomuch that King John of England was obliged to convey a numerous army into Ireland, in order to enforce tranquillity.

Violent wars were likewise carried on between Hugo de Lacy and William Marshall; insomuch that by the insensate hostilities on both sides, the country of Meath was almost destroyed, and many of the Irish nobility, who took a part in these disputes, were slain. This same William Marshall fought, with various success, many battles with Meills Fitz Henry, so that by these intestine broils, the provinces of Munster and Leinster were plundered, and their inhabitants reduced to the utmost misery. We are told by the chronicler Hanmer, that this William Marshall was excommunicated by the bishop of Fearns, for some outrages that he had committed. Under which sentence he died in England; the divine vengeance pursuing him to the last; for out of five sons, not one survived to enjoy the impious and sacrilegious acquisitions oftheir father.

Meills Fitz Henry was also a cruel and merciless tyrant. Among many other outrages which he committed, according to Stanihurst, "he led his troops to Cluain Mac Nois; and, laying close siege to it for twelve days, he took it by storm, and put every one he found in it to the sword. The houses were then plundered, and the provisions and cattle were all carried off; nothing, however sacred, escaped the fury of the soldiers; churches and religious houses were pillaged, and all their ornaments and consecrated plate they looked upon as lawful spoil. But these barbarous hostilities were practised by the English where-

ever they went, so that the whole island was at length almost destroyed by their continued devastations. Lismore, and its liberties were plundered by Hermon Morty and Redmond de la Grose." Stanihurst adds "that Hermon Morty, before he died, was struck with remorse for all the cruelties which he had committed; and as an atonement, he assumed the habit of a monk, and built the Abbey of Dun Broith, in the country of Wexford, A.D. 1279. This nobleman had been very active in reducing the Irish, and was concerned in many wicked and unwarrantable acts; but, what made the deepest impression upon his mind was, his being concerned with William de Aldemel in plundering and ravaging the church of Inis Catha, and alienating its revenues to their own use."

"The Irish were naturally enraged and roused by these intolerable oppressions; for they at length observed that the English, instead of promoting the religion of Christ, and endeavouring to reform the rugged manners of the people, had nothing in view but plunder; and that neither churches nor monasteries were exempt from their covetous and sacrilegious attempts, they formed the design of freeing themselves from such merciless allies, and to drive them out of the island. For this purpose the chief of the Irish nobility repaired to O'Conor Maonmiughe, king of Conacht, and offered to raise him to the sovereignty of the island, if he would but assist in expelling the English, and in restoring liberty to his country. The first who made these proposals to the king of Conacht, was Daniel O'Bryen, king of Limerick, who was followed by Roger, son of Densleibhe, king of Ulster; Daniel Mac Carty, king of Desmond; Maolseachluin Beag, king of Meath; and by O'Rourke, king of O'Broin and of Conmaine. But before any plans could be formed, or measures adopted, O'Connor was unfortunately accidentally killed, at Dun Leoga, in Jobh Maine, where he held his court."

Dr. Keating remarks, in his General History of Ireland —a work much more to be relied upon in many particulars, than any other which has hitherto appeared—that, "it is evident, from what has been observed, that the tyranny, the oppression, and many cruelties perpetrated by the English upon the native Irish, was the cause of that disaffection which appeared in general throughout the island. The inhabitants were made a sacrifice of upon all occasions, and when the English quarrelled among themselves, whatever party succeeded, the natives were sure to be the sufferers. The pride, ambition, and covetousness of those foreigners were perfectly insupportable; they offered outrageous violence to the law of Nations, and the received usages of mankind; and therefore it is no wonder that the Irish made frequent attempts to depose their lordly masters, and shake off a yoke that they were unable to bear. The English government in Ireland, had it been administered with discretion and good policy, would have been received by the inhabitants, who naturally are a submissive obedient people, and esteem the authority of the laws as sacred, when they are executed with moderation and prudence. And this character is consistent with what *John Davies* observes, in the last leaf of his *Irish history*; —"there is no nation or people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, in case it would proceed against themselves in justice, so that they may have the proportion and benefit of the law, when upon any just occasion they require it." It was the opinion, we perceive of this author, that the seeds of disobedience were not naturally planted in the people of Ireland; but the oppressions they suffered, by the tyranny of the English commanders, made them desperate, and urged them on to attempts which they would never have thought of, had they been well used, and treated with

that tenderness and humanity which the circumstances of their case so justly deserved."

In concluding his history, Dr. Keating readily admits that, notwithstanding what he had said of the cruelties and sacrilegious acts of some of the English, "that many of those foreigners, who came into Ireland, were persons of different qualities, from those five superior officers above mentioned. Many of them were men of virtue and strict piety, who promoted the service of God and the cause of religion by erecting churches and mohasteries, and bestowing large revenues upon them for their support; and God rewarded their charity and acts of mercy with particular marks of his favour; and not only blessed them in their own persons, but in a noble and worthy posterity, who now inherit their estates, and deserve an honourable mention in this history." Thus we can ascertain the period when Popish influence had become all engrossing in Ireland, as it had previously been in England and Scotland; and had caused the erection of many of those splendid monasteries, abbeys, &c. which the humble yet learned followers of St. Columba, neither thought of, nor coveted. But by what follows, it would appear that this influence had been more rapidly on the increase in Ireland, before the invasion of Henry II., than we had imagined.

The Abbey of Mellifont in the county of Louth, about five miles from Drogheda, in the barony of Ferrard, was originally one of the most important and magnificent monastic edifices ever erected in Ireland. It was founded or endowed by Donough M'Corvoill, or O'Carroll, prince of Oirgiallach, the present Oriel, A.D. 1142, at the solicitation of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, and was the first Cistercian abbey erected in Ireland. The monks by whom it was first inhabited, were sent over from the parent monastery of Clairvaux in Normandy, by St. Bernard, and four of them were Irishmen, who had

been educated there for the purpose. On the occasion of the consecration of the church of Mellifont in 1157, a remarkable synod was held there, which was attended by the primate Gelasius, bishop of Lismore, and apostolic legate, seventeen other bishops, and innumerable clergymen of inferior ranks."—This is according to the Romish account of the matter.—"There were present also Murchertach, or Murtogh O'Loghlin, king of Ireland, O'Eochadha, prince of Ulidia, Tiernan O'Ruairc, prince of Breiffny, and O'Kerbhaill, or O'Carroll, prince of Ergall, or Oriel. On this occasion, the king (Murtogh O'Loghlin) gave as an offering for his soul to God, and the monks of Mellifont, 140 oxen or cows, 60 ounces of gold, and a townland called Finnavair-na-ningen, near Drogheda. O'Kerbhaill gave also 60 ounces of gold, and as many more were presented by the wife of Tiernan O'Ruairc, who was a daughter of the prince of Meath, that is, a former prince, Murchad. She likewise gave a golden chalice for the high altar; and sacred vestments, &c. for each of the nine other altars that were in the church. This was the unfortunate Dearbhforguill, or Dervorgal, whose abduction by the profligate Dermod Mac Murrogh, king of Leinster, was the first link in the chain of events which led to the introduction into Ireland of the British arms, under the celebrated Strongbow. Her pious donations to the abbey of Mellifont appear to have been in some measure intended as an expiation for her crime; and hither she retired towards the end of her life, which she closed, in religious exercises, about the year 1193."

We have now to regret that Dr. Keating is no longer to be our principal historical guide; and although several writers on Irish history, such as Ledwith, Dr. O'Conor, Dr. Molyneux, General Vallancy, &c. present themselves to our notice, we, for many reasons, prefer making use of some of the historical materials which have been furnished

by and handed down to us by "Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, within the kingdom of Ireland;" for whom, making all due allowances for certain prejudices, of which it could hardly be expected he could wholly divest himself, we entertain a high respect; as he evidently seems to have been most anxious, faithfully, and impartially, to record the events of his own time.

He tells us that Henry II., upon hearing of what had been achieved by his subjects in Ireland, became desirous of sharing with them in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of the enterprize, and therefore resolved to go there in person. But it would appear that he had long had designs upon Ireland; for in the year 1155, he had contrived to obtain from Pope Adrian a bull empowering him to subjugate the Irish, and to seize upon their country: and he likewise took care to be armed with another to the same effect from Pope Alexander III., Adrian's successor, and the then reigning pontiff; as if a bishop of Rome had a right to dispose of them or of their country, because they did not acknowledge his universal supremacy, "This," says Sir John Temple, "was a sufficient demonstration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy father the Pope, as other princes. And the King, at his arrival, according to the chroniclers of the period, found them no other than a beastly people indeed. For the inhabitants (and for this false character they have to thank their own worthy saint *Malachy*, who had been the great promoter of Popery in Ireland) were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no settled laws, living like beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, customs, or reasonable constitutions, either for regulation of property, or against open force or violence; most notorious murders, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity, and barbarism,

raging without control or due course of punishment. Whereupon Henry, without any manner of scruple, or farther inquisition into particular titles, (is not this admirable on the part of Henry; and had ever before a conqueror such good reasons for subduing a nation!) resolved to make good by the sword the Pope's donation, made a general seizure of the lands of all the whole kingdom, and so without other ceremony took them all into his own hands."

We must here detain the reader, whilst we transcribe an historical description of Ireland at this, to her people, most eventful and calamitous period:—"Now for the land itself, he (Henry) found it *good* and *flourishing* with many *excellent commodities*, *plentiful* in all kinds of *provisions*, the soil *rich* and *fertile*, the air sweet and temperate, the havens very safe and commodious. Several *towns* and *villages* scattered up and down in the several parts of the country." But here we are not a little staggered, and rendered sceptical, as to the credit due to witnesses or writers, who could picture those inhabiting a country thus described, as a beastly, barbarous, irreligious people; especially, as it has already been shewn, from the accounts given by more ancient and more respectable authors, that they had not long before this period (though not to the extent they had in the times of St. Columba and his successors) cherished learning, civility, and primitive Christianity. But the authors, from whose writings we were above quoting, seemingly apprehensive of their readers coming to the same conclusions, hasten to say, "but the buildings so poor and contemptible, as when the King arrived at Dublin, their chief city, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, he set up a long house made of smoothed wattles (a kind of wicker work plastered over with clay) after the manner of the country; and therein kept his Christmas. All the forts, castles, stately buildings, and other edifices, were afterwards

erected by the English, except some of the maritime towns, which were built by the Ostmanni or Easterlings, who anciently came and inhabited in Ireland."

Now, though there is still extant in Ireland, enough to shew that this is gross misrepresentation, yet we shall allow it to pass; and only observe, that the lands of Ireland were highly cultivated in former times is proved from the marks of the plough being still visible on the tops of mountains now deemed unworthy of the husbandman's labour; and from similar marks being daily discovered in the bottom of bogs. It appears from an ancient law tract to be found among the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, that the *irrigation* of their lands was practised by the Irish at a very early period; from which it must be admitted, that they possessed even a superior skill in agriculture; and the Annals of Ireland distinctly shew, that long before A. D. 651, wheat, barley, oats, &c. were extensively cultivated there. Even the ancient mills used by the Irish in grinding their corn are still to be seen in the island; and, what will attract the attention of an antiquary, they are precisely similar to those now-a-days used in Syria, and described in Scripture as of old worked by two women.

But to proceed,—"And that he (Henry) might introduce religion and civility; and so draw on towards the accomplishment of that great work which he had so gloriously begun, he first, in a great council held at Lismore, caused the laws of England to be received and settled in Ireland; then he afterwards united it to the imperial crown of England, (see Mat. Paris. an. 1172) making large distributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole land of Ireland among the English commanders, who made estates, and gave several shares to their friends and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them."

Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied Henry to Ireland, acquaints us, "that a synod or council of the clergy, being there assembled at Armagh, and that point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed by them all, that the sins of the people were the occasion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their nation, and that especially their buying of Englishmen from merchants and pirates, and detaining them under a most miserable and hard bondage, had caused the Lord, by way of just retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the English to the same slavery. Whereupon they made a public act in that council, that all the English held in captivity throughout the whole land, should be presently restored to their liberty."

We find in the accounts of St. Columba and his successors, that they, on several occasions, exerted themselves successfully, to have Irishmen, held in a most miserable and hard bondage in England, restored to their country; but these unworthy attempts to disparage the Irish, ought to remind the reader, of the very applicable fable, of the *Wolf* and the *Lamb;* and especially of the moral to be drawn from it; that "when men want good reasons for committing cruel and unjustifiable actions, or for oppressing the weak and defenceless, they never fail to have recourse to calumnies;" and what can possibly be more wickedly calumnious, than this representation of the state of the Irish, at the period when this beautiful, apparently fairly cultivated and fertile country, was first blighted by the presence of Henry II. and his subjects, who was himself so degraded in the eyes of the world, by a rapacious and presumptuous Romish priesthood, as to be even obliged to submit to be scourged by monks, at the command of a foreign pontiff! But, the fact is, Ireland was then, as she is still, beautiful and fertile; and was consequently eagerly

coveted by Henry and his followers; and the old Irish priesthood having, it would seem, in general, and until about the year 1140, strenuously and consistently opposed the corruptions and innovations of popery; and probably very few of the Irish having as yet become papists, (if they had been so, Popes Adrian and Alexander, would surely not have granted Henry a Bull, authorizing him to subdue and reduce them into the way of truth) these were deemed good and sufficient reasons for laying hold of *all the land of Ireland,* for declaring that its people were *beastly* in their habits, that they were in a most barbarous state, with but little knowledge of Christianity remaining among them: "indeed," as a writer asserts, but how justly, our readers can now judge, "so quick had the power of holiness decayed in the land, that the name was soon lost, and even the very prints and characters thereof among the very clergy themselves obliterated." Be this as it may, from that period, the Irish seem to have almost quiescently embraced the religion of their conquerors; and, what is the more surprising, still retaining that, we must admit, justifiable hatred of them, which their oppressive and cruel acts had undoubtedly deserved.

Before advancing farther with the historical accounts of this eventful period, we must observe that the celebrated Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that "Henry II. influenced by a strong desire to promote the honour of God, and the worship of Christ, in those parts, summoned a council of the entire clergy of Ireland to meet at Cashel. And there the enormities and filthy practices of the people of that land having been inquired into and enumerated publicly, and also carefully committed to writing under the seal of the Bishop of Lismore, the legate, who then ranked in dignity above the rest there present, he issued several sacred enactments, which are still upon record,

concerning the contract of marriage, the payment of tithes, the honouring of churches with due devoutness, and attending at them with frequency; these things he did, endeavouring withal by every possible means to reduce the state of that Church to the model of the Church of England." But so unsettled did religious opinions continue to be in Ireland, even for a considerable time after Henry's conquest, that we find, in the year 1185, at a synod held in Christ's Church, Dublin, Albin O'Molloy, abbot of Baltinglass, preached a very elaborate discourse, upon the *continence* of the clergy, in which he took occasion to inveigh against the conduct of those who came from England and Wales into Ireland. This was the cause of a very spirited contest between the Abbot and Giraldus Cambrensis. We also find that even in the year 1382, Henry Crump, a monk of the Abbey of Baltinglass, maintained that the body of Christ in the Eucharist, was only a *looking-glass* to the body of Christ in heaven—that is, he maintained openly the Protestant doctrine, pronounced by papists to be heresy.

But the Legate above spoken of as presiding at the council of Lismore, was Christian the Bishop of that see, and Giraldus Cambrensis states that the following enactments, after having been subscribed to, were confirmed by the king's authority:—

I.—That all the faithful in Ireland, desisting from connexions within the prohibited degrees of kindred and affinity, shall henceforth confine themselves to legitimate marriages.

II.—That children shall be catechized, (*i. e.* their godfathers should be interrogated) at the church door, and baptised in the holy font at churches where baptisms are allowed to take place.

III.—That all the faithful of Christ shall pay tithes of

their cattle, corn, and other produce, to the church of the parish to which they belong.

IV.—That all church lands, and property of them, shall be entirely free from all exactions of laymen, and in particular that no petty princes, earls, or any nobles of Ireland, shall exact for themselves or their families entertainment or free quarters upon church estates, as had been usual; nor presume henceforward to extort it by violence: and that those detestable contributions which were wont to be levied from the church farms four times a year by the neighbouring earls, shall be levied no more.

V.—That in the case of homicide committed by the laity, when they compound with their enemies for the offence, the clergy who may be their relatives, shall pay no part of the fine.

VI.—That all heads of families among the faithful, when visited with sickness, shall make their will in the presence of their confessor and neighbours with becoming solemnity, and divide their moveable property into three parts, after deducting debt and servants wages beforehand: one part to be for the children; and another for the lawful wife; the third to defray the funeral expenses. And if they have no children lawfully begotten, let them be divided into two parts, between himself and his wife; and if his wife be dead, let them be divided between himself and his children.

VII.—That those who die with a good confession shall be buried with suitable obsequies, and the accompaniment of wakes and masses. Likewise that all offices of divine service shall for the future, in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Church of England.

The Rev. Robert King justly remarks in his Church History of Ireland upon the above that, "the synod at

which these different regulations were enacted, is without doubt the most remarkable council of the Church which has ever met in Ireland, for several reasons. First, it was the first in which a general law for the payment of tithes throughout all Ireland, was enacted. Before this time the custom of doing so had been little, if at all practised in this country; "very many (see Joh. Bromton, an. 1171) never paid tithes, nor knew whether they ought to be paid." Secondly, this was the first council in which a law was passed for the uniformity of divine service in all parts of the Church in Ireland, and its agreement with the English Church service. Thirdly, this appears also to have been almost the first occasion on which the Pope's authority, administered by his legate was clearly admitted and recognized publicly by the general voice of the Church of Ireland. Gilbert, a Danish bishop, had indeed acted as "Pope's legate for all Ireland" in A.D. 1139, but how far his labours were universally acceptable we cannot say; and when Cardinal Paparo distributed the palls, in A. D. 1152, at the synod of Kells, it is admitted that some of the Irish bishops, and many of the clergy, refused to sanction by their attendance the proceedings of that council. But even the synod of Cashel, though *generally* sanctioned by the chief pastors of the Irish Church, was far from being *universally* acceptable; nor are we to suppose that the entire body of the Irish people readily and at once consented to the ecclesiastical changes introduced in it. On the contrary they, like their descendants of this day, were fond of old habits and old ways of thinking, and therefore, while such of them as were immediately connected with the English, or in complete subjection to them, adopted and observed carefully the rules and usages of the English Church, the rest who still asserted their own independence,—those especially who

lived in parts of the country less accessible to the English,—followed still their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held."

We cannot afford more space for Mr. King's judicious remarks upon Irish ecclesiastical affairs of that period, and must again refer such readers as may be desirous of farther information to his History of the Irish Church.

King John, during his minority, and before he laid, in the dastardly way he did, the crown of England at the Romish legate's feet, "came into Ireland, though"—as it is remarked—"to little purpose; but after—about the twelfth year of his reign—upon the general defection of the Irish, he made a second expedition, and during his stay there built several forts and strong castles, many of which remain unto this day,—A. D. 1640;—he erected all the courts of judicature, and contributed very much towards the settlement of the English colonies, as also of the civil government."

"King Richard II. made likewise in the time of his reign, upon the same occasion, two other expeditions into Ireland in his own person, out of a desire to spare the effusion of *English* blood, as also the expense of treasure; being likewise hastened back by the distempers of his own subjects in England, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the feigned submissions of the Irish, who finding their own weakness, and utter disability to resist the power of those two mighty monarchs, came with all humility even from the farthest parts of the kingdom, to submit to their mercy: but, yet it is well observed by some that say, they returned back, not leaving one true subject more behind them, than they found at their first arrival. Howsoever, by the very presence of these princes, and by the careful endeavours of the governors sent over

by other of the kings of England, those that were adventurers in the first conquest, and such others of the English nation as came over afterwards, took possession, by virtue of the former grants, of the whole kingdom, drove the Irish in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in the plains and fertile places of the country, especially in the chief towns, ports, and upon the sea coasts. And to such a height of power and greatness had some of those first adventuring commanders raised themselves here by reason of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited jurisdiction and privileges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependants they had, as that they began to look upon their own possessions as circumscribed within too narrow limits, to entertain private animosities against each other, to draw the Irish (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever esteemed as their most deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not ashamed to use their assistance for the enlargement of their own private territories, as also to curb the too exorbitant power, as they thought, of their opposites, though their own compatriots and joint tenants in the possession of that good land."

"The Irish were very glad to entertain this occasion, and did ever foment by their utmost power and artifice these unnatural broils and dissensions among the English, whom they most mortally hated: for they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all English laws and government, were always accounted, not only as aliens, but mere enemies; and besides, the Septs of the Irish, which were termed the quinque familiæ, (these were O'Neale de Ulster, O'Melaghlin de Melin, O'Connor de Conocia, O'Brien de Thomondiæ, and Mac Morrough de Lagenia, who, notwithstanding the

great privileges they enjoyed by the protection of the English laws, ever shewed much averseness both to the English and their laws,) no other persons, of any other Irish families, from the very first conquest of Ireland, in the time of Henry II., until the reign of king Henry VIII., were admitted into the condition of subjects, or received any benefit by the English laws, but such as purchased charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them; the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And so they, living upon the mountains, in the bogs and woods, though at first after some sort divided from the English, did take all occasions to declare their malice and hatred against the English colonies planted near unto them."

"But, howsoever the English were in all ages infested with their Irish enemies, yet were they certainly in point of interest and universal possession, owners and proprietors of the whole kingdom of Ireland. They kept themselves in entire bodies almost for the first hundred years after their arrival, not suffering the Irish to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience and subjection to the crown of England. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their habitation, and to suffer the Irish to intermingle with them, and their English followers to familiarize themselves into their beastly manners and customs, yet for some time they made good the rights and possession they had gotten by conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the English laws, language, habits and customs long used among them. Now, although these, and all other courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to civility, yet such ever was, and still is, the rebellious disposition of the

people, their hatred so inplacable, their malice so unappeasable to all the English nation, as no laws or gentle constitutions would work, no public benefits temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation: but they have in all times continued to take all advantages as well since they were admitted into the condition of subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as enemies, most perfidiously, to rise up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their English neighbours."

All this is so perfect, and shews so clearly in what manner the Irish were rendered what even their descendants still are, that we have thus far preferred quoting from Sir John Temple's History, and even using his own words; and we must, for some time longer, continue to do so; for, no one can for a moment suppose, from the specimens we have just given, that he had allowed his mind to be biassed by any kindly feeling towards the Irish, or that he was inclined to look upon them in any other light, than as a *beastly people;* but we conceive, that the impartial reader will now not be greatly surprised, had they really become so, from the inhuman, unjustifiable, and heartless treatment which they had so long experienced from their conquerors; and when he also considers that, by the statute made at Kilkenny, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the time of Edward III., alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish, are high treason! And if any Englishman should use the Irish language, Irish name, or Irish apparel, his lands should be seized on; and if he had no lands, he was to suffer imprisonment! (Archiv. in Castro Dublin, Statute of Kilkenny.) In that space of time which intervened betwixt the tenth year of Edward II., and the thirtieth of Edward III., all the old English colonies in Munster, Connaught,

and Ulster, and more than a third part of Leinster, became, what was in those days looked upon, as degenerated, and fallen away from the crown of England, so as the *English pale*, as it was styled, remained only under obedience of the law.

Sir John Temple adds, in speaking of these colonies, "For what by reason of their own intestine broils, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the Irish) most barbarously degenerated into all their manners and customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous attempts of the Irish upon them; we shall not find that the English, from their first access into Ireland, unto the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (a tract of time containing about 380 years,) had any settled peace or comfortable subsistence, but were in most perpetual combustion and troubles; so extremely harassed and over-worn with misery, as they were not likely long to survive the universal calamity that had overspread the face of the whole kingdom:"—thus it may be here properly observed that, from the year 1172, until about 1537, when a parliament was held in Dublin under Henry VIII., the intervening period may be regarded as the *dark ages* for Ireland: indeed, so little of real importance or interest took place in the course of them, that we prefer proceeding with Sir John's Temple's remarks, to noticing at large the furious and unjustifiable quarrels among the Romish Church dignitaries and clergy; and the effects of gross ignorance and superstition then prevailing among the natives as well as the Anglo-Irish; but we purpose hereafter—as we conceive we may do so with some advantage—to revert to the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; in which events of the first importance to Ireland, as well as to England, occur; for what should we gain by introducing copiously, from

among the many examples we could give, such instances of outrageous and presumptuous conduct on the part of the Romish archbishops and bishops, as are included within this long period of darkness—for instance—(see Mant's History of the Church of Ireland; also King's History.) "About the year 1210, a most direful contention was carried on between the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore, respecting certain lands alleged by each to belong to his see. The matter was referred to commissioners appointed by the Pope, but they having decided against the Bishop of Waterford, that prelate became highly enraged, and formed a plan for seizing the Bishop of Lismore; and laying siege to his cathedral, while he was there at divine service, he took him prisoner, and hurrying him away, he cast him into a dungeon in Dungarvan, loaded with irons, and further sorely afflicted him while there with hunger and thirst, and many other cruel indignities.

"Again, in the year 1223, Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Justice of Ireland for King John, so plagued the people, (and at the same time violating the rights of the crown,) by drawing civil causes into the ecclesiastical courts, that on the complaints of the citizens of Dublin, a writ was issued to prohibit him from such practices in future, with threats of severe penalties for disobedience."

Again, it was a mark of an archbishop's dignity to bear his cross erect in his own province; and a disgraceful contest existed for many years (it had been commenced in the year 1313 by Robert Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, by his having his carried erect before him in the province of Dublin) between several successive archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right claimed by each of exhibiting the symbol of authority in the province of the

other. This unworthy dispute was carried on with such fierceness and violence, that on eleven different occasions, in the course of twenty years, between 1429 and 1449, successive archbishops of Armagh having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, made returns to the writs of summons that they could not personally attend in consequence of this silly quarrel.

Again, in the year 1346, when a parliament was holden in Kilkenny, which granted King Edward III. a supply of money for the exigencies of the state, the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of his province threatened the severest penalties against any who contributed to the subsidy; and having gone to Clonmel, they in their pontifical robes, openly, in the middle of the street, excommunicated all who had advised, granted, or levied the money.

Again, in the year 1326, the punishment of those declared to be heretics, by corporal torture was in use in Ireland as well as in other countries; and in the year 1353, one Adam Duff was burned for this offence in College Green, Dublin, by order of the bishop of Waterford. The archbishop of Cashel, enraged at the bishop of Waterford for inflicting this punishment without his licence, assaulted him—the bishop—towards midnight, in his lodgings, grievously wounded him, and robbed him of his goods.

Again, in the year 1369, the bishop of Limerick being summoned to appear before the archbishop of Cashel to answer certain charges brought against him, attacked him violently, wounded him, and forced him to fly from Limerick. He also entered Limerick in robes of state, and excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, all who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment; and afterwards, when the archbishop was to preach a customary sermon in

Limerick, the bishop forbade any one to attend on pain of excommunication, and excommunicated by name those who were present at the sermon.

Again, in 1442, John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, having a dispute with the dean and chapter of Raphoe, about the profits of that bishopric, he excommunicated the dean and chapter, and granted forty days indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize or dissipate their substance.

Again, in the year 1525, the bishop of Leighlin was murdered by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with farther correction;—in short, the system of religious belief which prevailed during these, to Ireland, dark ages, was not more free from corruption and evil than were the lives of those who professed it. But we have said even more upon this subject than we intended, and shall now proceed, as we purposed, with the remarks of the Irish Master of the Rolls upon the lamentable state of Ireland at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign.

"Whereupon," says Sir John Temple, "that blessed queen (who, ridiculously enough, was excommunicated by the Pope; and, by the same bull, deprived of her kingdom, as well as the allegiance of her subjects,) out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied herself with great care to redress the disorders of her subjects in Ireland. And in the very beginning of her reign, sending over prudent and religious governors, the work of reformation was much advanced, by many wholesome laws enacted against the barbarous customs of the Irish; and the execution of justice (which a long time continued within the limits of the pale) began now to be extended into Connaught, Ulster, and other remote parts of the land at some intervals of quiet times. The Irish countries were

reduced into shires, and sheriffs, with some other ministers of justice placed in them: the pretended captainships, and those high powers usurped by the Irish, together with all the extortions and other fearful exorbitances incident to them, were now put into such a way of declination, as they could not long continue." But, we should here observe, that we find in Sir John Davies' Rep. fol. 49, that "the lands belonging to the Irish were divided into several territories, and the inhabitants in every Irish country were divided into several septs or lineages. In every Irish country there was a lord or chieftain, and a tanist, which was his successor apparent. None could be chosen tanist but one issued out of the chief septs. The seignory and lands belonging to the chief lord, did not descend from father to son, or upon default of issue to him that was next of kin: but he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused him to be chosen tanist; and if he could not compass his designs by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared, as it were, heir apparent, came into possession upon the death of the chief lord. Now for the inferior septs, they held the lands at the will of the chief lord, after a sort; for after the death of every one of his tenants which held any land under him, he assembled the whole sept, and having put all their possessions together in *hotch-potch*, made a new partition among them, not assigning to the son of him that died, the land held by his father, but altering every man's possession at his own pleasure, and according to his own discretion: he, upon the death of every inferior tenant, made a general remove, and so allotted to every one of the sept, such part as he thought fit. *And this was Irish gavelkind.*"

Sir John Temple adds,—and his authority as *Master of the Rolls,* ought to be good—that, "now Seignories

and Possessions were settled in a due course of Inheritance; those great destructive customs of *Tanistry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; the two Presidential Courts of Munster and Connaught were then instituted, and special order taken that *Free Schools might be erected in the several Dioceses throughout the kingdom, for the better training up of youth.* But these acts and other courses, tending to the advancement of true religion, and civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose humours of the natives, who apprehended even the most gentle means of reformation, as sharp corroding medicines, and thereupon pretending the burthen of the English government most insupportable began desperately to struggle for their liberty, but more particularly with the view of crushing the Reformation in Ireland. Several plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old English by extraction: divers rebellious and petty revolts were raised during Her Majesty's most happy reign: that of Shan O'Neal, the Earl of Desmond, Viscount Baltinglass, O'Burke, and several others at other times, were all set on foot for this very end, and all timely suppressed, partly by the power of the Queen's forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the chieftains to mercy. And she, as most unwearied with their never ceasing provocations, still went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous customs: as several of the great lords who were out in the rebellion, were restored to their lands and possessions; others she suffered to enjoy their commands in the country; upon others she bestowed new titles of honour. And being very unwilling to put the kingdom of England to such an excessive charge, as the full conquest of Ireland would necessarily require, no fair means were left untried, that could minister any hopes

of civilizing the people, or settling the present distractions of the kingdom."

"But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble forms; those ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the perverse dispositions of the Irish: the malignant impressions of irreligion and barbarism, transmitted down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or natural generation, had irrefragably stiffened their necks, and hardened their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of reformation."—Here we find some underhand power, means, for the first time exerted in Ireland, and [redacted] utmost to prevent the diffusion of a rel[redacted] founded upon the Scriptures, as well as to retard civiliza tion. We have seen that the Irish had long before this period embraced popery, loaded with all its corruptions and vain observances, and even adding to them many Druidical and other superstitions, which their ancestors could never be altogether prevented, even by the strenuous endeavours of the Family of Y, from mixing up with Christianity.

In the year 1599, the Earl of Essex was nominated by Queen Elizabeth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,—a most important and difficult appointment; as the Irish had been in a most turbulent and unsettled state for several years past; and, it was with much trouble and anxiety that Sir Henry Sidney, and other wise and experienced governors, had been able to keep them in subjection. But, at this period, an alarming insurrection broke out, headed by a powerful and influential chief, the Earl of Tyrone, upon whom Elizabeth had conferred many favours and honours; and what rendered this rebellion the more formidable was, that many of Tyrone's officers and soldiers, had served with distinction and bravery, in the wars of Philip of

Spain. After some months of most harassing warfare, during which the English suffered more from its fatigues and sickness, than from the enemy, Essex, in defiance of the Queen's express commands, entered most unwisely, into a truce with Tyrone. This highly and justly incensed Elizabeth, who not long after ordered Lord Mountjoy to assume the government of Ireland in place of Essex; and he being a man of very superior talents, and vigour of mind, was soon able to retrieve the Queen's affairs in Ireland, and to reduce its remaining, worn-out, and miserable people again to complete subjection.

We must now give, as an important event in Irish history, Sir John Temple's account of Lord Tyrone's Rebellion, which terminated in such direful consequences to the deluded Irish;—always to be deluded into the vain hope of being able to shake off the yoke of England—indeed, its effects may be said to be felt even unto the present day—"and that they"—the Irish—"might at once dis-impester themselves of their displeasing company, and disburthen the whole kingdom of them and their posterity, they still entertained new thoughts, and had now brought into perfection a design long meditated in their breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their subjection to the crown of England. And this was that desperate rebellion raised almost throughout the whole kingdom, by Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, who, after titles of honour, received a command given by the Queen unto him, both of Horse and Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, and other Princely favours conferred upon him; resolving at once to cancel all those Royal obligations of gratitude and fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the Irish Septs and Families, together with many degenerate English throughout the kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious and undoubted sove-

reign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venomous infusions of his malevolent spirit, uniting their whole interests and forces in a firm conjunction with him, raised all their dependents, and moved in several places, according to the several orders and directions they received from him; and to fill up the full measure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign nations, at the same time, with considerable forces to invade the land."

It ought here to be observed, in regard to the great antiquity and importance of the O'Neil family, that, like the supreme monarchs of Ireland, who had their magical, or "fatal stone," on which they were crowned, (now imagined to be in Westminster Abbey), the O'Neils of Castlereagh had their stone coronation chair; as likewise had the O'Neils of Tyrone, the chief branch of the family. That of the former, is now in the possession of, and carefully preserved by, R. C. Walker, Esq. of Rathcarrick, County Sligo. That of the O'Neils of Tyrone is said to be also forthcoming—it is marked in some of the old Irish maps, as "the stone where they make the O'Neils;" and we are told there are similar chairs to be found in other districts. This curious mode of inauguration is of very remote antiquity in Ireland, and said to have been introduced, even before the arrival of the Milesians, by the Tuatha de Danans. A signet ring, with a bloody hand engraved upon it, belonging to one of the O'Neil family, was a few years ago found near Charlemount in the county of Armagh:—but to proceed—

"So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that Ireland was no longer to be dallied with; one rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great clemency

had been abused, in suffering former rebellions to be smothered over, and loosely pieced up with protections and pardons; and that the receiving of the Irish upon their submissions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, and perpetuate the miseries of war: therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to work; and making choice of some of her most renowned English commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an *Army Royal*, completely armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the prosecution of that arch-traitor Tyrone, and with great success, in a short time, though not without the expense of much English blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howsoever before this glorious work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a period to her days, yet lived she long enough to see just vengeance brought down upon the head of that unnatural disturber of the peace of the kingdom, himself in a manner wholly deserted, his country most miserably wasted, and a general desolation and famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the sword."

"It is very easy to conjecture in what a miserable condition Ireland then was; the English colonies being for the most part barbarously rooted out, the remainder degenerated into Irish manners and names; the very Irish themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the kingdom depopulated; in every place large monuments of calamity and undiscontinued troubles. King James of blessed memory found it, at his first accession to the crown of England, in this deplorable state; whereupon he presently took into his care the peaceable settlement of Ireland, and civilizing of the people: and conceiving that the powerful conjunction of

England and Scotland would now overawe the Irish, and contain them in their due obedience, he resolved not to take any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly entitled unto, by Tyrone's rebellion; but, out of his royal bounty and princely magnificence, restored all the natives to the entire possession of their own lands. A work most munificent in itself, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of England. And in this state, the kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquillity, until the sixth year of his reign: then did the Earl of Tyrone take up new thoughts of rising in arms; and into his rebellious design he easily drew the whole province of Ulster, then entirely at his devotion; but his plot failed; and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the kingdom, fled into Spain, leaving some busy incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new rebellion in Ireland, and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: but, by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise counsels of that king, and the careful endeavours of his vigilant ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon allayed, and Tyrone never returning, the peace of the kingdom was much confirmed and settled. King James hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those Rebellious Traitors, caused their persons to be attainted, their Lands to be seized, and those six counties within the Province of Ulster which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratify the well affected natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among British *Undertakers*, who came over and settled themselves, and

many other British families in those parts: by this means the foundations of some good towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls, were presently laid; several castles and houses of strength built in several parts of the country; great numbers of British Inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise, for the better assurance of the peace of the country, in the plantation of several parts of Leinster, where the Irish had made incursions, and violently expelled the old English out of their possessions. But, howsoever, the king was by due course of law justly entitled to all their whole estates there, yet he was graciously pleased to take but one-fourth part of their lands, which was delivered over likewise into the hands of British Undertakers, who with great cost and much industry, planted themselves so firmly as they became of great security to the country, and were a most special means to introduce civility in those parts: so as now the whole kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly *Buildings*, and all manner of *Improvements*; the people to multiply and increase, and the *very Irish* seemed to be much satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable government, and general tranquillity, which they so happily enjoyed."

But what immense changes and improvements have taken place in society since James's day. Any intelligent peasant would now laugh at the doctrine propounded on sorcery by this *learned* king, and by a judge in his reign; both of whom not only encouraged, but actually occasioned the burning alive of their fellow creatures! Accusations of witchcraft seem to have originated in the desire of repressing heresy, or more properly speaking, dissent from the Church of Rome; next in the means it afforded to those in power to confiscate and appropriate to their own

use the property of those unfortunate persons whose wealth became an object of cupidity, or whose principles and opinions did not coincide with those of the ruling government. Besides these motives, the desire that existed in those times of keeping the lower orders in ignorance and bigotry, which usually go hand-in-hand, ought not to be overlooked. But we should here observe, that notwithstanding such strange defects and blemishes of character, the conduct of James appears to great advantage, in his government of Ireland. He did his utmost—perhaps not always judiciously—to civilize its inhabitants, and to reconcile them to laws and habits of industry, in which they were as deficient, as in the present day. He abolished many remains of barbarism, and established English laws in Ireland. He also declared all its people *free;* and by proceeding upon a steady, well-concerted plan of regular government, he did more in nine years towards ameliorating their condition, than had been done during the four previous centuries. But to shew how James's good intentions and endeavours to improve Ireland and the Irish, can be misrepresented, we must refer our readers to a well written work, not long published, entitled the "Lives of the United Irishmen."

But Great Britain had now long embraced the *cause of truth;* and having also proved the efficacy of *Gospel principles,* she had determined henceforward to defend the one, and strenuously to uphold the other; and in consequence, and under the blessing of Divine Providence, was rapidly advancing towards that greatness and pre-eminence, which she now enjoys amongst the nations of the earth:—whilst unfortunate Ireland! from the great proportion of her people still leaning towards Rome, continued to lose even the vestiges of that power and glory which she had of old possessed, and whilst adhering to *primitive Chris-*

tianity; thus but too clearly illustrating the correctness of D'Aubigne's fears as to the fate of a nation who corrupts or abandons it.

Those who now arrived in Ireland as *Undertakers*, were, as we may conclude, all, or almost all Protestants—that is to say, persons who had reverted to the faith of the ancient Britons, or to that which in no way differed from it—that of St. Columba; and which they had done at the time predicted; (see Daniel, 12th chapter, 10th and 11th verses—and Faber's Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, volume ii. p. 117) viz. about the year 1517, when many, as taught out of the word of God by Wiclif, and other good and enlightened men, renounced the apostate worship of images, canonized saints, &c.—in other words, when the great moral revolution had taken place, at the predicted time or era of the Reformation; and when the churches of England, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and northern Germany, threw off the papal yoke, or commenced cleansing themselves from Romish impurities. But, it is to be deeply regretted, that since the United Churches of England and Ireland did so, the ancient and impressive forms in which Divine Service was conducted, and which seem to have been established at a very early period, have, by degrees, been too much deviated from or neglected, in all parish or other churches, so that in cathedrals alone, that necessary regularity and impressiveness have been preserved. Had this been attended to since the Reformation, Romanism would never again have attained its direful eminence, nor Dissent from the Church of Christ have become so general as it now is.

But it ought here to be observed, that it was in the reign of Richard II. that the first seeds were sown of the Protestant or Reformed religion. John Wiclif, above mentioned, who held the living of Lutterworth, in Leices-

tershire, had become known in the latter end of Edward III.'s reign, by a controversy with the begging friars. He afterwards attacked the corruptions of the whole body of the monastic clergy; and though he might not, perhaps, be the first who discovered the fallacy of many of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, yet he was the first who dared to inveigh against them publicly. Till the time of Wiclif, there were none but Latin Bibles, which were only to be found in the possession of the priests; so that the mass of the people was kept in total ignorance of the Scriptures, except in as far as they may have been made known to some of them, by Ælfric's and Bede's Homilies —recently brought to light by the exertions of Mr. Thorp, and Dr. Gilles—may be useful expositions of them; and parts of which, interpolated with the wonderful accounts of miracles performed by the relics of saints, &c. may have been occasionally read to them, *when the priests could read.* —To these Homilies, however, we wish to call the attention of our readers, as they will, at least, greatly interest both the philologer and the theologian.

But Wiclif undertook and completed a translation of the Bible into English. This, though highly acceptable to the laity in general, was universally disapproved of by the Bishops, and all who were attached to or profited by the Romish corruptions; and a Bill was brought into the House of Lords to suppress the English translation. But the Bill was thrown out, in consequence of the strong remonstrances of John of Gaunt, who concluded his speech by saying, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language."

Various lives of Wiclif have been written by men entertaining as various opinions respecting him, as well as of the doctrines he maintained. The best proof, at all

events, of the effects of his doctrines, even upon the minds of men in the present day is, that Tractarians, or Puseyites, include Wiclif, in their pious anathemas, along with the devil and Martin Luther. But the prejudices existing in the minds of some of the writers of the period in which he lived—and embraced by many since,—against both himself and doctrines, must never, in our endeavours to study his character, be lost sight of; and it ought, besides, to be remembered, that though one of the most daring minded of men, and a powerful reasoner, Wiclif could only, in ridding his mind of the shackles of Romanism, gradually bring himself to feel that he was right in his conclusions, as to the religious tenets he embraced, and upon which, whilst even translating the Scriptures, he wrote so much at different times, and with a degree of laborious perseverance and clearness as is quite astonishing. We must not, however,—much as we may be inclined to admire him,—forget, that unlike the penmen of the Scriptures, he was not inspired by the Holy Spirit, and, therefore, when we find that he maintained any thing in his writings contrary to the obvious meaning of certain passages, we can only ascribe his having done so, to his partaking, like ourselves, of poor fallible human nature. After these few remarks, we must again refer our readers, who wish to know more of Wiclif, of the opinions entertained by him, and of those assigned to him, to Bishop Short's Sketch of the History of the Church of England; particularly to what they will find there, respecting him and his followers, in the third chapter, from page 48 to page 78, fourth edition.

SECTION VI.

"Seize upon truth, where'er 'tis found;
Among our friends, among our foes:
On Christian or on Heathen ground . . . .
The flower's divine, where'er it grows.
Refuse the prickles, and assume the rose."

We have latterly brought before the reader much that is worthy of serious consideration. Our researches have now, however, led us to the reign of Charles I.; and having extended them to the utmost, in order to arrive at the truth; and having, with that in view, pored over divers old documents, some of them of very uncertain value, we still find nothing so satisfactory, and so much to the purpose, as the somewhat antiquated in style accounts given by *Sir John Temple,* of what took place in Ireland, from the year 1640, until the termination of the terrific rebellion, which broke out in 1641. Therefore, from them we intend to make such extracts (and we prefer, for many reasons, using his language to our own,) as may best suit our purpose.

He says, "I now purpose to declare how those great Instruments of Mischief, that were the Supreme Conductors of this wicked Design; moved forward so successfully in the beginning, towards the accomplishment of their long intended Extirpation of all the British and Protestants out of the kingdom. I find two sorts of persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main Fundamentals whereupon their bloody superstructures were afterwards easily reared up: and these were such of the Popish Lawyers as were natives of the kingdom, and those of the

Romish Clergy of several Degrees and Orders. For the first, they had in regard of their knowledge of the Laws of the Land, very great Reputation and Trust; they began to stand up, like *great patriots*, for the vindication of the Liberties of the Subject, and Redress of their pretended Grievances; and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great Party in the House of Commons, here then sitting, some of them did there magisterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of Law, the pernicious speculations of their own Brains, which though plainly discerned to be full of Virulence, and tending to Sedition, yet so strangely were many of the Protestants and well meaning men in the House blinded with an appearance of Ease and Redress, and so stupified with their bold Accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to contradict their fond assertions; so that what they spake was received with great Acclamation, and much Applause by most of the Protestant Members of the House; many of which, under specious pretences of public zeal to this country, they had inveigled into their Party: and then it was, that having Impeached Sir Richard Bolton, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of High Treason, together with other prime officers and Ministers of State that were of English Birth, some of those great Masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their Queries, Challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilfully overgrown mismanagement, than to be made against an authority, that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn People, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued distempers of the kingdom: they disdained the moderate qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest Answers, such as the

Law and Duty to their Sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing it wholly into the hands of the natives, which they knew they could not compass in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparations there, and delivered such desperate Maxims, which being diffused abroad would fit and dispose the People to a change: as they declared it to be law, that being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of Record, would give the king no forfeiture of Estates: that though many thousands stood up in arms in the kingdom, yet if they professed not to rise against the king, that it was no Rebellion: that if a man were Outlawed for Treason, and his Land thereby vested in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the outlawry, and recover his Ancestor's Estate. And many other Positions of a perilous Consequence, tending to Sedition and Disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and by the power and strength of their Party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a suspension of *Poyning's Act*, and indeed the utter abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest Ties and best Monuments the English have of their entire Dominion over the Irish nation, and the annexation of that kingdom to the Imperial Crown of England."

"Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Friars, and all the rest of the viperous fraternity belonging to the holy orders; who, as I said, had a main part to act, and have not failed with great assiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the country to lay such other dangerous impressions on the minds, as well of the meaner sort, as of the chief Gentlemen, as might make them ready to take

fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the Day once prefixed for execution, they did in their public Devotions long before, recommend by their Prayers the good success of a great Design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholic cause. They then loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants, telling the People they were Heretics, and not to be any longer suffered to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman, than to kill a dog, and that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect them. Then also they represented, with much acrimony, the severe courses taken by the Parliament in England, for suppressing the Romish Religion in all parts of the kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the People that in England they had caused the Queen's Priest to be hanged before her face, and that they held her Majesty (Henrietta Maria, sister of the king of France, a papist) in her own Person under a severe Discipline: that the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddenly in execution; and a Design secretly laid for bringing and seizing all the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in Ireland upon the 23rd of November next ensuing, and so to make a general massacre of all that would not desert their Religion, and presently become Protestants."

We must proceed with what many may be inclined to look upon as the somewhat biassed statements of Sir John Temple. But may not the reader imagine, that for some wicked and unjustifiable purposes of our own, we have been attributing expressions to the worthy *Master of the Rolls*, which he never could have used; and that, in place of giving faithfully his remarks upon the eventful times which we are now treating of, we have been wilfully and

ungenerously misrepresenting what really took place, whilst thus attempting to draw a picture of what has been going on recently in Ireland; he may, however, read for himself, and satisfy his own mind upon the subject; as he will find much more to the same effect, in Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, though scarcely what can come up to the exalted ideas of a female repealer of the present day; who, despising the distaff wielded, not over-industriously, by her grandams, most needs brandish her pen in defence of modern virtuous and disinterested reformers, or agitators; and even confidently attempt to justify the words and actions of the late arch-agitator himself by borrowing the ethics of old Tom Paine, and other equally sage guides and political economists, who tells to our beards—"if an opinion be conscientious, there can surely be no morality or immorality in it, since we cannot make our opinions what we please." This is, in fact, the philosophy of 1794, so admirably versified by Mr. Canning:—

> "Ere you thus join the loud accusing throng,
> Prove not the things—but that they thought them—wrong."

But we must now return to the doings of the then Irish Government and Parliament: "and now of late such was the great indulgence of king Charles, our Sovereign, that now reigneth, to his Subjects of Ireland, as that in the year 1640, upon their complaints and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament, then sitting at Dublin, by a Committee of four Temporal Lords of the Upper House, and twelve Members of the House of Commons, with Instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of Strafford, he took their Grievances into his royal consideration;"—after some unavoidable delays, at last—"and with their consent and approbation,

placed the government upon Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace Knight, Master of the Ordnance, both esteemed persons of great integrity. They betook themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled in his Majesty's Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late Exorbitances (so bitterly decried in parliament) of Paper Petitions, or Bills in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council Board, or before any other by their authority. They, by his Majesty's Gracious Directions, gave way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (these were given in the Earl of Strafford's time, and then in collection) from £4000 each Subsidy to £1200 a piece; so low did they think fit to reduce them: and they were further content (because they saw his Majesty most absolutely resolved to give the Irish Agents full satisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most impetuously desired by the Natives: the one was the Act of Limitations, which unquestionably settled all Estates of Land in the kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the space of sixty years immediately preceding: the other was the relinquishment of the Right and Title which his Majesty had to the four counties in Connaught, legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to *British Undertakers;* as also to some Territories of good extent in Munster, and the county of Clare, upon the same title."

"Thus was the present Government most sweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords, Justices, and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just compliance with the seasonable desires of the People. And his Majesty, that he might

farther testify his own settled resolution for the continuance thereof with the same tender hand over them, having first given full satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament, still attending their dispatch, did about the latter end of May, 1641, declare Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Ireland; a nobleman of high character, of great moderation, and likely to prove a just and gentle Governor, most pleasing and acceptable to the People."

"Moreover, the Roman Catholics now privately enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome. They had by the over great indulgence of the late governors, their titular Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-general, Provincial consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly among them; they had their Priests, Jesuits, and Friars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of Spain, Italy, and other foreign parts, where the children of the Natives of Ireland, that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their education. And these without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the Chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen, and Private Gentlemen's houses throughout the kingdom. So as the private exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance; and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind."

"And for the ancient animosities and hatred which the Irish had ever been observed to bear unto the English Nation, they seemed now to be quite deposited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two nations had

now lived together forty years in peace, with great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity, as might make up a constant and perpetual union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossipred, fostering, (relations of much dearness among the Irish) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made, as it were, a kind of mutual transmigration into each other's manners; many English being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customs; and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses. And so great an advantage did they find by the English commerce and cohabitation in the profits and high improvements of their lands and native commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry; as Sir Phelim O'Neal, and many others of the prime Leaders in this Rebellion, had not long before turned their Irish Tenants off their Lands, as some of them said to me (when I inquired the reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the mountains, while they took in English who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay them."—Here we find who were the originators of the now-a-days so much talked of agrarian discontents and disputes—"a matter which was much taken notice of, and esteemed by many, as most highly conducing to the security of the English interests, and plantation among them. So that all these circumstances duly weighed together with the removal of the late obstructions, the great increase of trade, and many other evident symptoms of a flourishing Commonwealth, was

believed even by the wisest and best experienced in the affairs of Ireland, that the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely in all human probability to continue, without any considerable interruption, in the present felicity and great prosperity it now enjoyed under the Government of his Majesty that now reigneth."

But, how delusive were these appearances and hopes of tranquillity! "In August 1641, the Lords Justices and Council, finding the Popish party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a height as was scarcely compatible with the present Government, were very desirous to have an adjournment made for three months, which was readily assented unto, and performed by the Members of both Houses. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee, formerly mentioned, out of England. They arrived in Dublin about the latter end of August, and presently after their return, they applied themselves to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and other Graces granted by his Majesty, made known unto the People by Proclamation, to be sent down into several parts of the country; which while the Lords Justices took into consideration, they sat daily composing of Acts to be passed next Session of Parliament, for the benefit of his Majesty, and the good of his subjects; and seemed with great contentment and satisfaction to retire to the country to their several habitations, that they might refresh themselves in the mean season."

"Such was now the state and present condition of the kingdom of Ireland; such the great security through the gentle and happy transaction of the public affairs here; as that the late Irish army raised for the invasion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably disbanded, their arms and munition, by the singular care of the Lords Justices

and Council, brought into his Majesty's stores within the City of Dublin; there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late levies, nor indeed any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now while in this great calm, the British continued in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of the Land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present Government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the least thoughts or apprehension, of either tumults or troubles, the differences between his Majesty and his subjects of Scotland, being about this time fairly composed and settled: there broke out on the 23rd of October, 1641, a most desperate and formidable Rebellion, and universal Defection and general Revolt; wherein not only all the *meer Irish*, but almost all the *old English* that adhered to the Church of Rome, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some monuments hereof to Posterity, I shall observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress of a Rebellion so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole world, as no Age, no People can parallel the horrid Cruelties, the abominable Murders, that have been without number, as well as without mercy, committed upon the British Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex or Age, of what Quality or Condition soever they were."

We do not intend to follow Sir John Temple in his very minute accounts of the horrors committed by the Irish during this terrific insurrection; but, in another part of his history of it, he says:—"there being since the Rebellion broke out, unto the time of the *Cessation*, made September 15, 1643, which was not full two years after, above three hundred thousand British and Protestants cruelly murdered

in cold blood, destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the strictest conjecture and computation, of those who seemed best to understand the number of English planted in Ireland, besides those few which perished in the heat of the fight, during the war."

We must here, however, refer our readers to what are called "*The Annals of the Four Masters.*" They appear to have been transcribed about this period, or rather just before it, from the ancient MSS. collections of Irish Records; and we shall merely remark that, amidst the fearful rebellious convulsions and wars in Ireland, subsequent to the year 1641, these curious annals would have been lost to the world, had they not been, at that very time, transcribed at Clonmacnoise by the "Four Masters," at the desire and expense of Fergal O'Gara, Lord of Moy O'Gara and Coolavin, in the County of Sligo. To Mr. Petrie, Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy, we are indebted for their resuscitation, as well as for an interesting account of their preservation, during the calamitous period we have alluded to. But we shall only further observe, how much more valuable they would have been to an historian had they afforded us a knowledge of Ireland and Irish affairs, for a more considerable period, especially prior to the island's coming under popish influence; when the Irish character underwent so lamentable a change.

We are here, however, forcibly struck with the circumstances, that it was not so much against the Government, which was at the moment doing and conceding so much in order to satisfy and tranquillize them, that the *meer Irish*, and almost all the *old English* that adhered to the Church of Rome, rose up treacherously in arms—not that the *meer Irish* wished to avenge themselves upon the descendants of the conquerors and barbarous oppressors of their

ancestors; but their aim was to extirpate or root out, at the instigation of a rancorous and ambitious priesthood, and of a set of evil minded agitators, the British and Protestants, who were living in peace and confidence among them. But, is it not pitiable, as well as surprising, to find Irishmen, whose forefathers were the stanch and consistent defenders of *Gospel Principles*, and the uncompromising opponents of popery, now, not only believing in it, but also leagued with its professors, in a plot to extirpate those who had, upon conviction of its purity, reverted to that very religious faith which their educated and enlightened ancestors had for ages revered and cherished, and had done so much to propagate:—is it not, indeed, marvellous to find still generous-hearted Irishmen, kept wilfully in ignorance of all this, guilty of such enormities? and likewise, evidently (even unto this day, their descendants are) unacquainted with the fact, that it was by two Popes of Rome that their unfortunate forefathers were handed over to the tender mercies of Henry II., who was authorised by *Papal Bulls* "to subdue the Irish, and to bring them into the true faith." But if it were not that he knew well the perverseness, as also the fickleness of the human heart, how great, we might suppose, would be the amazement of St. Columba, if, from where the spirits of just men made perfect are at rest, he were permitted to behold what is going forward on earth, to find that his beloved countrymen, for whom he had gladly made such sacrifices, and done so much, had so sadly fallen away from the *truth* and from *Gospel Principles;* whilst Great Britain, as the champion of both, had gone on, in so astonishing a manner, increasing in power and glory. Unfortunately, however, too many of her people have not even as yet been taught by events—no, not even her ablest statesmen!—what the invariable consequences are of a

leaning towards, or in any shape favouring Romanism; for, is it not obvious that, every attempt hitherto made to engraft, or mix up its principles or practices with the British constitution, or in any way to sanction its continuing to exercise its baneful influences in any part of our—may we still call it?—vast Protestant empire, has been a complete political failure, and also has as invariably been productive of great national difficulties or perplexities; and, we may add, calamities. In saying this, we would entreat our readers to believe that we are by no means hostile to Romanists—but as for Popery, we conceive that by Scripture we are commanded to be perseveringly so.

Though we have declined—chiefly on account of its prolixity—giving more than we have done, of Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, yet, if the following extraordinary document were not produced, few, of any creed, would be inclined to believe that it had ever been issued from the Vatican; or that the Irish Master of the Rolls, from whose now almost obsolete work we have been transcribing, ought to be respected as an historian: indeed, attempts have of late years been made to make the world believe that such a rebellion as that of 1641 *never took place!* or if it is admitted that there was an *outbreak* at that period, what occurred has, for party purposes, been shamefully exaggerated or misrepresented.

"AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM, URBANUS OCTAVUS," &c.

"Having taken into our serious Consideration the great Zeal of the Irish towards the propagating of the Catholick Faith, and the piety of the Catholick Warriors in the several Armies of that Kingdom (which was for that singular Fervency in the true Worship of God, and notable Care had formerly in the like Case, by the Inhabitants thereof, for the Maintenance and Preservation of the same Orthodox

Faith, called of old *The Land of Saints;*) and having got certain Notice how, in Imitation of their Godly and Worthy Ancestors, they endeavour by Force of Arms to deliver their thralled Nation from the Oppressions and grievous Injuries of the Hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and Gallantly do in them what lieth to Extirpate, and totally root out those Workers of Iniquity, who in the kingdom of Ireland had infected, and always striving to infect the Mass of Catholick Purity, with the pestiferous Leaven of their Heretical Contagion: *We,* therefore, being willing to cherish them with the Gifts of those Spiritual Graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only disposers on Earth, by the mercy of the same Almighty God, trusting in the Authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul; and by Virtue of that Power of binding and loosing of Souls, which God was pleased (without our deserving) to confer upon us; To all and every one of the faithful Christians in the said kingdom of Ireland now, and for the Time militating against the Hereticks, and other enemies of the Catholick Faith, they being truly and sincerely penitent, after Confession, and the Spiritual Refreshing of themselves with the Sacred Communion of the Blood and Body of Christ, do grant a full and plenary Indulgence, and absolute Remission for all their Sins, and such as in the holy Time of Jubilee, is usual to be granted to those that devoutly visit a certain number of privileged churches, within and without the walls of our City of Rome: by the Tenor of which present Letters, for once only, and no more, we freely bestow the Favour of this Absolution, upon all and every one of them; and withal, desiring all the faithful in Christ, now in arms as aforesaid, to be Partakers of this most precious Treasure." It is unnecessary to transcribe the remainder of this *Bull,* which concludes in the usual form; and is "dated at

Rome, in the Vatican, or St. Peter's Palace, the 25th of May, 1643, in the twentieth year of our Pontificate;" and signed by "M. A. Maraldus."

With such an incentive as this *Bull* "to endeavour by force of arms to deliver their thralled nation from the oppressors, and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate and totally root out of the *Land of Saints*, those workers of iniquity," is it not strange—though they did their utmost to effect the latter—that the Irish did little or nothing, as soldiers, in effecting the former? in fact, the Irish of 1641, were no longer the redoubtable warriors of the days of Bryen Boiroihme; and this will fully appear, by our making certain extracts from the excellent letter of that gallant commander and pious Christian, "*Sir Henry Tichborne, to his Lady, of the siege of Tredagh, and other Passages of the Wars of Ireland where he commanded;*" and where, in the true spirit of a soldier, such as *Picton* was sure to mark, in his *old 3rd, or Fighting Division*, numbers of opponents, the advantages of the position they held, or the walls that protected them, never caused the slightest hesitation, nor for an instant retarded victory. But, a French historian, in speaking of a battle fought years afterwards—that of the Boyne—says:—"Louis XIV. avait fourni au Roi Jaques une flotte et une armée pour reconquerir l'Angleterre; mais en lui prodiguant tous les moyens de vaincre, il n'avait pu lui donner le genie de gouverner, ni la valeur qui sait maitriser la victoire. Débarqué en Irelande, il devait conquérir le cœur de ses sujets et vaincre Guillaume. Sa fortune échoua d'abord contre Londonderry; il l'assiégea inutilement pendant quatre mois. Un simple Predicant contraignit le Roi Jaques d'en lever le siége. Guillaume arriva et marcha à lui. La rivière de Boyne était entre eux; Guillaume entreprend de la franchir à la vue de l'ennemi:

elle était à peine guéable en trois endroits. Sa cavalerie passa à la nage; l'infanterie était dans l'eau jusqu'aux épaules. A l'autre bord il fallait encore traverser un marais. Le Roi Guillaume fit passer son arm e, et engagea la bataille. Les Irlandais, si bon soldats en France et en Espagne, ont toujours mal combattu chez eux. Il y a des nations dont l'une semble faite pour être soumise à l'autre. Les Français combattirent dans la journée de la Boyne, mais les Irlandais s'enfuirent; &c. &c."

We had translated these observations of the French historian, as well as what we feel, in justice to the Irish nation, we ought also to give, into English, but found our translations so inferior, and that they had lost so much of the spirit of the originals, that we are convinced readers in general, will prefer having them in French, a language now become so universal, as to make any other apology on our part unnecessary.

" Crémone fut assiégée, en 1702, par le prince Eugène. Le Maréchal de Villeroi y était enfermé. Fils du gouverneur de Louis XIV., il avait eu continuellement sa faveur. C'était un homme d'une figure très imposante et très-agréable, très-brave, très-honnête homme, magnifique en tout. Le prince Eugène, qui l'avait battu à Chiari, conserva toujours sur lui sa supériorité. Enfin, au cœur de l'hiver, un jour que ce maréchal dormait avec sécurité dans Crémone, ville assez forte, munie d'une bonne garnison, il fut reveillé au bruit d'une décharge de mousqueterie; il se lève en hate, monte à cheval. La première chose qu'il rencontre est un escadron ennemi; il est renversé par terre. Un officier allemand, jugeant par son uniforme que c'est un general, le fait prisonnier. S'étant relevé, il lui dit à l'oreille : *Je suis le Maréchal de Villeroi; je vous donnerai dix mille pistoles et ferai avoir un regiment*

si vous voulez me conduire à la citadelle—Il y a long temps que je sers l'Empereur, mon maître, répond l'officier, *je ne commencerai pas aujourd'hui á le trahir.* Il l'amena au corps-de-garde le plus éloigné. Le Marquis de Crenan, Lieutenant-General, est blessé mortellement aux côtés du Maréchal. Villeroi prisonnier lui fait temoigner tout le regret de n'être plus libre, et le fait assurer par une ordonnance qu' il lui porte grande envie ; il est aussitôt conduit hors de la ville sans savoir ce qui s'y passait. Le prince Eugène etait déja dans Crémone. Un prêtre nommé Cassoli, prévot de Sainte Marie-la-Neuve, y avait introduit les Allemands par un égout. Quatre cents soldats, entrés par cet égout dans la maison du prêtre, avaient sur-le-champ égorgé la garde de deux portes. Le prince Eugène y entra avec quatre mille hommes. Tout cela s'était fait avant que le gouverneur Espagnol s'en fut douté, avant que le Marêchal de Villeroi se fut reveillé. Le secret, l'ordre, la diligence et toutes les précautions possibles avaient préparé l'entreprise. Le gouverneur Espagnol se montre dans les rues avec quelques soldats ; il est tué d'un coup de fusil. Tous les officiers généraux sont tués ou pris, à la réserve du Comte de Revel et du Marquis de Praslin. Cependant, la prudence du prince Eugène fut confondue. Le chevalier d'Entragues devait faire ce jours la, dans la ville, une revue du regiment royal des vaisseaux, dont il était colonel. Déjà les soldats s'assemblaient à une extrémité de la ville précisément dans le moment où le prince Eugène entrait par l'autre. D'Entragues commence à courir par les rues avec ses soldats, resiste aux Allemands qu'il rencontre, donne le temps au reste de la garnison d'accourir. Les officiers et les soldats pêle-mêle, les uns mal armés, les autres presque nus, sans commandement, sans ordre, remplissent les rues, les places publiques ; on combat en confusion, ou se

retranche de rue en rue, de place en place. Deux régiments Irlandais, qui faisaient partie de la garnison, arrêtent les efforts des Impèriaux. Jamais ville n'avait été surprise avec tant de sagesse, ni défendue avec tant de valeur. La garnison était de cinq mille hommes. Le prince Eugène n'en avait pas introduit plus de quatre mille. Un gros détachement de son armée devait arriver par le pont de Pô: les mesures étaient bien prises; un autre evênement les dérangea toutes. Le pont de Pô, mal gardé par cent soldats Français, devait être saisi par les cuirassiers Allemands. Dans l'instant où le prince Eugène entra dans la ville, il fallait qu'étant entrés par la porte du midi, voisine de l'égout, ils sortissent sur-le champ de Crémone du côté du nord par la porte du Pô, et qu'ils courussent au pont. Ils y allaient; le guide qui les conduisait est tué d'un coup de fusil tiré par une fenêtre; les cuirassiers prenent une rue pour une autre; ils allongent leur chemin. Dans ce petit intervalle, les Irlandais se jètent à la porte du Pô, combattent et repoussent les cuirassiers. Cette resistance embarrasse d'abord le prince Eugène. Il leur envoie Magdonald, un de leurs compatriotes qui etait le premier entré dans la ville, "*Monsieur, le prince Eugène,*" dit-il en s'adressant au commandant, "*m'envoie ici pour vous dire que, si vous voulez changer de parti et passer dans celui de l'Empereur, il vous promet une paie forte et des pensions plus considérables que vous n'en avez en France. L'affection que j'ai pour toutes les personnes de ma nation en général, et pour vous, Monsieur, en particulier, m'oblige à vous exhorter à accepter les offres que vous fait ce général: si vous les refusez, je ne vois pas comment vous échapperez à une perte certaine. Nous sommes maîtres de la ville à l'exception de votre poste; c'est pourquoi son altesse n'attend que mon retour pour vous faire attaquer avec la plus grande partie de ses forces, et vous tailler en pieces.*"—"*Monsieur,*"

répond le commandant Irlandais, " *Si son altesse attend votre retour pour nous attaquer et nous tailler en pieces, il y a apparence qu'elle ne le fera pas sitôt. Pour cet effet, je vous arrête prisonnier, ne vous regardant pas comme l'envoyé d'un grand Général, mais comme un suborneur, C'est par cette conduite que nous voulons mériter l'estime du prince qui vous a envoyé, et non par une trahison indigne de gens d'honneur.*" A ces mots, le combat recommence avec une fureur nouvelle. Eugène, ne voyant pas revenir Magdonald, comprend qu'il a été arrêté. Ne voulant rien gagner par la force, il conçoit une autre ruse pour leur faire mettre bas les armes. Il va trouver le Marèchal Villeroi : " *Vous avez, Monsieur, traversé la ville,*" *lui dit-il,* " *et vous devez avoir remarqué que nous en sommes maîtres. Vous avez encore quelques tirailleurs sur le rampart ; si cela continue, ils m'obligeront enfin à les faire passer tous au fil de l'epée : ordonnez-leur de se rendre.*" Le Maréchal démêla facilement que les affaires du prince prenaient une mauvaise tournure ; il se contenta de lui repondre froidement : " *J'ai le malheur de n'être pas libre, ainsi je ne puis rien ordonner.*" Eugène fait une nouvelle tentative sur les Irlandais, qui opposaient toujours un mur de feu et d'acier aux entreprises des Allemands. Le Baron de Frieberg est chargé de cette attaque. Mahoni, commandant un bataillon de Dillon, saisit la bride du cheval de cet officiér, en disant : " *Bon quartier pour M. de Frieberg.*" Mais celui-ci le regardant avec mépris : " *ce n'est pas,*" repliqua-t-il, " *aujourd'hui un jour de clémence ; faites votre devoir, et je ferai le mien.*" Il dit, et une décharge de mousqueterie l'etend sur le carreau. Le Marquis de Praslin, pendant ce combat, fait couper le pont du Pô ; alors le secours que l'ennemi attendait ne put arriver, et la ville fut sauvée. Le prince Eugène, après s'être battu tout le jour, toujours maître de la porte par

laquelle il etait entré, se retire enfin, emmenant le Maréchal de Villeroi et plusieurs officiers prisonniers, mais ayant manqué Crémone. Son activité, sa prudence, jointe à la négligence de son gouverneur, lui avaient donné cette place; mais la valeur des Français et des Irlandais l'empêchèrent de terminer son entreprise.

We hope we may be pardoned these, we conceive, in common justice to Irish soldiers, requisite digressions; but, it is necessary here to remark that, in a few months after the breaking out of the rebellion of 1641, the Irish, by sudden surprises, and by murdering and robbing all the British that fell into their hands, entirely cleared the inland counties of the Protestants; and, excepting some few places of strength and castles, such as Dublin, in Leinster; Cork, Youghall and Kinsale, in Munster; Londonderry, Colraine, and Caregfergus in Ulster, all of which they continued to besiege, it may be said, that they had got possession of almost the whole kingdom. They, therefore, now began to celebrate their victories; and every thing went on so prosperously with them, that they felt confident in being able totally to extirpate the British and Protestants out of Ireland. They in consequence proceeded to establish a certain form of government; nominated persons to be entrusted with the management of public affairs: to decide what laws were to be revoked, and what statutes were to be enacted. And, in the mean time, they chose a council, which they styled the *Supreme Council*, and invested it with absolute power to govern the kingdom. This council consisted of certain noblemen and gentlemen, three lawyers, and a physician; who fixed their seat of government at Kilkenny. They there formed courts of judicature, made a new *Broad Seal*, appointed Great Officers of State, coined money, settled an excise upon all kinds of commodities, and formed many other Acts of Regal Power.

The following document is worthy of being preserved—

A LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMY IN IRELAND, IN 1641. BEFORE THE REBELLION BEGAN.

Foot Companies, consisting of six officers, viz., Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chyrurgeon, Serjeant and Drum, and 44 soldiers each company.

Lord Lieutenant's Guard	44	Captain Thomas Rockby	44
Sir Robert Farrar	44	Sir Arthur Tyringham	44
Sir Thomas Wharton	44	Captain Philip Wenman	44
Sir George Saint George	44	Captain Charles Price	44
Captain Francis Butler	44	Sir Charles Coot	44
Sir William Saint Leguer	44	Captain Thomas Games	44
Lord Docwra	44	Sir Francis Willoughby	44
Lord Blany	44	Sir John Borlace	44
Sir Robert Steward	44	Captain Robert Baily	44
Lord Viscount Rannelagh	44	Sir Arthur Loftus	44
Lord Viscount Baltinglass	44	Captain William Billingsly	44
Sir John Vaughan	44	The Lord Esmond	44
Captain George Blount	44	The Lord Lambert	44
Sir Henry Tichborne	44	Sir George Hamilton	44
Sir Frederick Hamilton	44	Lord Folliot	44
Lord Castle Stewart	44	Sir William Stewart	44
Sir Lorenzo Cary	44	Captain Robert Biron	44
Captain Chichester Fortescue	44	Sir John Sherlock	44
Sir John Gifford	44	The Earl of Clanricard	44
Captain John Barry	44	Captain John Ogle	44
Sir John Nettervile	44		

These companies contain officers 246 } in all { 2297
Soldiers 2051 }

HORSE TROOPS.

The Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant-General, his troop consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and horsemen	180	Sir William Saint Leguer, Lord President of Munster, the like	58
The Earl of Ormond's troop, like officers and horsemen	107	Lord Viscount Moore, the like	58
The Earl of Strafford's troop, like officers and horsemen	58	Lord Viscount Grandison, the like	58
Lord Dillon's troop, like officers and horsemen	58	Lord Viscount Cromwel of Lecall, the like	58
Lord Wilmot's troop, like officers and horsemen	58	Captain Arthur Chischester, the like	58
		Sir George Wentworth, the like	58
		Sir John Borlace, the like	58
		Lord Viscount Conway, the like	58
		Sir Adam Loftus, the like	58

These troops contain officers 42 } in all { 943
Horsemen 901 }

They were dispersed chiefly in the remote parts of the kingdom, guarding forts and other places; so that it was found to be impossible to assemble them, in any sufficient numbers, for the defence of Dublin, or to make head against the rebels. And besides, it was supposed, that these troops and companies, being thus scattered, badly supplied with ammunition, &c., could not be safely marched upon Dublin.

Having thus seen that the Irish had contrived to get possession of almost the whole kingdom of Ireland, with its resources, and had organized a government; we must now proceed with "Sir Henry Tichborne's" most interesting "Letter to his Lady," which, as an historical document is most valuable; especially as it throws much light upon the state of society, not only in Ireland, but also in Great Britain at that eventful and perturbed period.

"The 23d of October, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at Donsoghly, within four miles of Dublin; and upon the General Terrour which was in the country when all English and Protestants forsook their Habitations, and fled from the Face of that *Horrid Rebellion*, I thought it not safe to remain alone behind them; and when, in the evening of the next day, I had scattered a Party of Rogues that lay lurking about my house, I retired with you and my family the same night to Dublin.

"The day following the Lords Justices and Council sent for me before them, and after some Debate of the Condition of the Time, and the quickest Way to prevent the growing Danger, it was concluded by the Board, that I should forthwith raise a Regiment of one thousand soldiers, and march with all Expedition unto Drogheda. October 26, early in the morning, I began my Levy, and using great Diligence, with continual Pains and Travel, I completed, armed, and led my regiment to Drogheda within the space of Nine

days, where I entered very seasonably the fourth of November." Thus we see, that Sir Henry Tichborne had only a body of recruits under his command; in all respects similar to the rebels with whom they were to contend. In proof of this, if any were necessary, Sir Henry almost immediately adds, in speaking of a reinforcement of 600 men sent to him from Dublin by the Lords Justices—"when setting forth about the same time when the Northern Rebels drew near unto Drogheda, through some miscarriage on the Way, though they had seasonable notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the Rebels, totally routed, and most of them lost."

"This disaster befalling us, the Rebels believed themselves Masters of the whole country—the whole Pale that seemed to waver, upon this declared for them, and immediately joined with the Northern Rebels; whereupon ensued the Siege of Drogheda, which had not continued long, when I viewed the Provision of Victual, and the grain within the walls; I easily observed that within a short time we should be distrest for want of Provisions; and perceiving there was a pretty Quantity of Corn in stack about half a mile out of the East Gate, and that the Rebels were quartered a mile from it; on a morning, betimes, I caused carriages to be prepared, drew the whole Garrison into arms, and disposing 200 Foot and a Troop of Horse into the Conduct of Serjeant-Major Lovell, with Instruction to issue forth at one Gate; I took the like number of Horse and Foot, and went suddenly forth at the gate that led directly unto the Place; and before I was advanced a little above half way, I met an Irish woman that lived without the Walls, who told me that part of the Irish Army, at least 3000, were marching towards me, a thing I little credited, because I had sent forth scouts, and a lieutenant of foot with 30 Musketeers to possess a Ground of Advantage

before me. But I was little farther advanced, when the Scouts returned full of Fear, and the Lieutenant with his Musketeers in great amazement, blowing and sweating, and imprudently, before he came close unto me, declared in the Audience of the Soldiers, that there were at least 4000 of the Enemy hard at hand, and that we were in danger to be enclosed by them coming several ways.—Nothing is more dangerous than Reports of this Nature in the hearing of the Soldiers, which of what condition soever should always be privately delivered to the Commander."—"And thus far I did Experiment it at this time, that the Lieutenant's timorous Report, drove some, both Horse and Foot, to forsake me, and seek their safety within the Walls, and almost wrought a general Terror. But I told them, considering the Ground, we were strong enough to oppose 10,000, and that they ought not to be Dismayed; for the Lieutenant, surprised with Fear, had augmented the Enemies number, and blinded him so much, that he could not distinguish between the Enemy and our own Forces, those being no other than our own whom he saw coming behind us another Way, and were appointed by me to be our Seconds. With much ado, this persuasion re-assured the Soldiers, and caused them to stand, and for the more safety, I sent into the Town for some Troops I had left in arms on the Market-Place: but before the Soldiers were confirmed, and fully prepared to oppose the Rebels, they came upon us with a great shout, and gave Fire: at the second Firing, our men answered them in the like kind; and in the midst of the smoke, I called out aloud, *They run*; which took the desired effect, was believed by those in the rear, and seconded by them all with the like Cry, and though it appeared something otherwise upon the clearing up of the smoke, and after a Charge, that the Rebels gave thick Fire out of an Ambush, yet our Musketeers

on the higher Bank set bravely forward when they saw me alighting from my Horse to partake in such Adventure as should befall them; and the Rebels who were staggered with the former Cry, betook themselves to their heels in general. Our men had the Execution of them about three quarters of a mile, the rest of their Army Firing on us at a Distance, as they were drawing together to make Resistance: and when I perceived all the Rebels in arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and saw allthe Soldiers in safety within the Gates before me. Of the Rebels there were about 200 slain, a Priest, and three Captains, and one of the O'Neals, that was Serjeant-Major General of their Northern Army: of our men four only were hurt, and two horses shot in this Service; for God fought for us, and from this time forth so dismayed the Rebels, that afterwards they never stood before us."

"On St. Thomas's Eve, at one of the clock at Night, the Rebels came to assault the Town, and fell on with a great shout; but we were prepared for them, and gave them such Entertainment as belonged to unwelcome Guests, whereby they lost many, and toward the morning withdrew to their Quarters. On New-Year's-day, early in the morning, I sent forth a Party, which killed some of the Rebels, burnt their Quarters, and retreated with the loss of but one man."

"The 7th of January, a little before day, I drew forth three Troops, consisting of eighty good Horse, or thereabouts, with 300 choice Foot, in two Bodies, and a *Forlorn* of 50 Musketeers, to fall on the Rebels' Quarters at Ramullan, without St. John's Port, where, after a little Resistance, their Barricadoes and Breastworks were forced, their Quarter entered, an hundred of them, at the least, slain upon the Place, many driven by Heaps into the River and drowned, and amongst them one Art Roe Mac Mahon, a

prime man, and much lamented by them; and whilst we were in pursuit, and firing the Quarter, a Body of the Rebels (the day being now fully broken) appeared from Platten and other Places, marching towards us; these I thought fit to meet and Charge with my Reserve, whilst the Soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former chace, and by God's singular Blessing, (to whose glorious working all these Actions are to be wholly ascribed) we suddenly routed them, and killed above forty on the Place, not Adventuring to pursue them far, because the Rebels were numerous, and gotten into arms throughout all their Quarters. The Soldiers brought off many muskets and corslets, a few cows, and some other Plunder."

"The Rebels failing in all their Hopes, laboured to stop up the Channel, and to hinder our relief by sea; but God disappointed them, and opened the Way unto us; for, the 11th of January, our shipping came from the Skerrys in one Tide to the key; a rare matter, and hardly known in the memory of man. That night I exhorted the Officers to be very vigilant on their guards, because the Rebels might conceive us joyful, and secure upon our received relief; and I could not go that night abroad according to my custom, in regard I had several Dispatches to make to Dublin, and the shipping were that Day to return in case the wind favoured them, which I would in no sort be a hindrance unto. How my orders were observed or neglected I will not mention; but about four of the clock the next Morning, as I was busily writing, I heard three Muskets go off, and soon after two others; and, as I apprehended, (notwithstanding the Stormy Weather) a kind of muttering noise; whereupon I started from the table, snatched up my pistols, and called to those about me to follow me with speed, for I believed that the Rebels were gotten into the Town: and coming forth of the doors, I

called unto a Court of Guard that was on the Town-Wall near my lodging, and willed them to increase the Alarm, and give Fire athwart the River, because I believed the Rebels to be entered on that side the key; and then running with all speed towards the Bridge, when I was about half way, the Rebels gave a great shout. At the foot of the Bridge, I found a Guard of my own Company settling themselves to their arms; those I drew forth, and placed to maintain the Bridge, until I should instantly return unto them: and then making haste to the Main Guard, I found not there that vigilancy I expected; but increasing the Alarm, with such small strength as I could suddenly gather, I returned and found my Ensign newly engaged with the Rebels at the end of the Bridge; him I relieved, and God prospered us so well, with the Concourse of Officers and Soldiers, that finally we scattered them, and had the killing of many, and took above fifty Prisoners. God's Workings are wonderful, and oftentimes, especially in matters of War, produce great Effects out of small and contemptible Means. This night my man following of me hastily with my Horse out of my lodging, the Horse being unruly at the best, suddenly broke loose, and made such a noise in running and galloping madly upon the stones in the dark street, it put the Rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepared to welcome them than in Truth we were, and thereby afforded us something the more leisure to Entertain them, as by the Blessing of God we did."

"The 7th of February, I made a sally on the north side of the Town, fired two or three of their Lodgings, and recovered a little Forage and Provision to refresh us a few Days: the Rebels drew forth from Bewly, their Head Quarters, with a Body of five hundred or thereabouts, but upon my Advance with the like number, and skirmishing with them in their fastness, they retreated with a little loss,

which greatly emboldened our Soldiers for future Services, who received no loss at all. That night, I sent forth a Party of Musketeers, to fall on a Court of Guard of the Rebels, which they effected with the slaughter of the Centinels and some others. February the 11th, in the afternoon, upon intelligence that the Rebels had removed from one of their Quarters, and left it void for the lodging of others that were to arrive that day out of the North, I thought it a fit Opportunity to issue suddenly out of the Town, with intent to recover part of their Provisions, and to fire the rest, that could not be brought away, together with their Quarter; and with that end I drew forth a Party of five hundred to Confront the Rebel's Head Quarters at Bewly, and sent Lieutenant Greenham, a Resolute Commander, with sixty Musketeers, and thirty Horse under the conduct of Cornet Constable, to guard those that were directed to spoil the Quarter; who coming thither and finding the Place empty, some of the Foot, at least twenty, with part of the Horse, lading themselves with sheaves of Corn, and such other things as they met with, returned homewards; when suddenly there appeared before the remainder of the Horse and Foot a Body of four hundred Rebels, come forth of the North to possess that Quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themselves into Good Order. About that instant I had, with seven or eight Horse in my Company, left the Body of five hundred confronting Bewly, and being on my way towards them, I received the news of the Rebels' Approach. Forthwith I sent Direction for one hundred and fifty Soldiers to be drawn quietly out of the Body, and to follow me. The Advertisement of this being delivered to Lieutenant Greenham, with my Approach, I being then come in sight of him, caused him without delay to fall on the Rebels; and I commanded Cornet Constable to do the like with the Horse,

keeping by me a Reserve of ten Horse to Second him, if Occasion were: for things being come to that Pinch, admitted no Debate, but a speedy Hazard. The Rebels terrified and amazed with this sudden and unexpected Assault, were soon routed by this Party alone, before the others I had appointed for their assistance were come up to them. There were slain of the Rebels seventy-three, with Captain Owen, a Follower of the Earl of Tyrone, in Queen Elizabeth's time (thus it appears that the Irish were commanded by old experienced officers), a Lieutenant, and an Ensign. There were taken two Colours, one Ensign, three Sergeants, nine Prisoners: one of them, that appeared a man of Note, died the same night of his wounds."

"Two days after, (for now we were ever in action) upon notice of a Prey that might with some Hazard be probably gained, I sent forth Captain Patrick Trevor on Sunday Morning, a little before day, and marched after him myself, with another Party, to relieve and bring him off as Occasion should serve. He behaved himself so well, that he took the Prey of Eighty Cows, and about two hundred Sheep; and though the Rebels, on both hands, bestowed many shot and shouts upon us, yet we received no loss or considerable Hurt, but came in Time to serve and praise God in the Congregation that Morning."

"On Sunday the 21st of February, about four of the clock in the Morning, Sir Phelim O'Neal attempted the Town with Scaling Ladders, and had raised several against the Wall with much silence, hoping to make his entry on the back of my Lodging, where the Wall was lowest: but the Centinel discerning one of them mounted on the top of the Ladder, ready to surprise him, knocked him down with the Butt-end of his Musket, and called out to the Court of Guard, who issuing suddenly forth, easily repelled the rest, insomuch that they left thirteen of their Scaling Ladders

behind them; and being well plied with shot from the Walls, divers were hurt and slain, as a Boy reported who was Drummer to Sir Phelim O'Neal, and had made his Escape from him that Morning. About noon the same Day, we received another Relief of Men and Victuals that arrived wonderfully in one Tide, as the former had done by God's singular Providence."

"The 27th of February, desirous to repair a small loss I had received of Boys and Women that went a Foraging to Bewbeck, I issued forth to the same Place with two new Companies lately come from Dublin, fifty Musketeers of the old Garrison, and one hundred and twenty Horse in four Troops; and possessed the same Ground where the Party stood that I had sent forth eight days before, for the Guard of the Foragers: and after I had directed the Foragers that went with me, how to demean themselves on the Rebels Approach, and appointed the Pioneers to bury the Dead, I spent much of the Day there before the Corn was brought quite away into the Town. The Rebels drew forth in a Body of five or six hundred, under five Colours right against me, at a pretty Distance; and another Body of two or three hundred on my right hand, keeping the same Distance; whose Motion when I had long attended in vain, and the Evening growing fast, I turned on my Left Hand towards the Way that led to Dublin, where the Rebels held an usual Guard, and which I intended to visit; but my Scouts were sent forth on all sides to observe the Rebels' Motion. I had not marched much more than a musket shot when my Scouts came posting in, and assured me, that the Rebels were advancing toward me in great haste, and that there was but the Ridge of a Hill between them and us; I presently ordered my Men, as I conceived, for the best Advantage; sent immediately into the Town for Seconds, if need should require; and because most of my Foot were

new-comers, I told them briefly as the shortness of the time would give me leave, that I was glad of this Occasion wherein they that were lately come should have the Experience of such Adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and, by God's continually Blessing us, beaten the Rebels under greater Disadvantages than now appeared. I besought them only to be courageous; for if there was a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it,) to Draw them from the Trial in safety, than expose them to imminent Danger. The Soldiers gave a cheerful answer of Resolution and Readiness to meet the Rebels, and marched fiercely towards them; which being taken notice of by the Rebels, by such time as we were gotten to the Ridge of the Hill, they were sunk down again almost to the foot of it, where were many rows of great Furze fit to cover an Ambush, and at first I apprehended that might be their Purpose of Retreat, to draw me into unexpected Danger. But when I had beheld them a little while, and observed their Motion, and discerned them in some Disorder, and that their Officers were beating them with their swords to force them forwards; I found the Time fit for my Purpose, and called to hasten the Charge, for the Rebels were Dismayed, and running before we came at them. And to make my Words Good, they made few Shot before they totally disbanded, and every Man shifted for himself. I caused a Party of Horse to meet them at the Bridge of Gillianstown, near the Place where our six hundred Men, sent at first to assist us, were unhappily defeated; and there, in the same Field, and about it, three hundred and upwards of the Rebels were slain, and two Colours taken."

British officers who were so constantly engaged with French troops, as those of the 3rd and Light Divisions of the Duke of Wellington's army were in Portugal, Spain,

and France, have occasionally seen the always gallant French officers under the necessity of forcing their men on with their swords, or by any other means endeavouring to make them stand their ground when threatened with an attack. It has often been remarked that the French and Irish soldiers (that is, when the latter are in the ranks with British and foreign troops) in many respects strongly resemble each other—they display, like the Celtic nations, from whom, it is supposed, most of both are descended, the greatest impetuosity and daring in an advance to attack the enemy; but, they are deficient in that essential quality—*stability*, or firmness of purpose; and although they can soon be rallied after a repulse, and made once more to try to regain the day; yet, firmness on the part of their opponents, is certain to ensure their again giving way, and falling back with great loss. But, one thing is certain, that no troops in the world, evince more brilliant courage in an assault or charge, and in the most trying situations, such extraordinary unshrinking endurance of slaughter as the British. The French have more than once remarked—and we particularly allude to the battle of Talavera—that "British soldiers do not know when they are beaten;"—and why is this?—it is because their gallant and high-minded officers, whom they always gladly and boldly follow, or stand by, never permit them, even for a moment, to imagine that they can be beaten.

We think it desirable to give here, and before we proceed further with Sir Henry Tichborne's narrative, the following curious old return:—

"THE NAMES OF THE SEVERAL CAPTAINS, AS THEY CAME IN FOR OUR DEFENCE AT DROGHEDA.

October 26th, 1641.—The Lord Viscount Moore of Drogheda, with his troop of horse—66; Sir John Nettervile, Captain;—Rockly, Captain, with their two half standing companies; Seafowle Gibson, Captain, his company of English and other Protestants—120.

November 4th, 1642.—Sir Henry Tichborne, Colonel, Governor of the Town, his company of Foot; Sir John Borlace, Captain; Lieut.-Colonel Bryan, Captain; Lieut.-Colonel Wenmond, Captain; these three, though having been officers of the Field, yet out of their zeal for the service, came as private Captains; Jacob Lovel, Serjeant-Major, who died at the siege; Captain Chichester Fortescue; Captain Edward Billingsley; Captain John Morris; Captain William Willoughby; Captain Lewis Owens.

The Troop of Horse.—John Sloughter Captain, Lieutenant to Sir Thos. Lucas, Commissary-General; Thoms Grymes, Lieutenant to Sir Adam Loftus.

November 10th, 1642.—Captain Henry Bryan, Captain Patrick Trevor, Captain Foulke Martin.

November 22nd, 1642.—Christopher Roger, Sergeant-Major; Captain William Cadogan; Captain Charles Townsley; these three Captains escaped very defective in their companies from the defeat at the bridge at Gillianstown; Fifty Horse under the command of Sir Patrick Weymes, Captain, Lieutenant to the Earl of Ormonde.

February the 25th, with our second Relief.—Captain Richard Borrows, Captain Edward Trevor, Captain William Hamilton.

We again proceed with extracts from Sir Henry Tichborne's narrative: "The 1st of March, I sent forth Sir John Borlace with four Companies of Foot, and one Troop of Horse, to Forage the south side of the River towards Colpe, from whence a good quantity of Corn was brought into the Garrison: and in the afternoon I took two other Companies of Foot and a Troop of Horse, accompanied with the Lord Moore; and as we were advancing something farther towards the Inche, there came a Messenger hastily unto me, and told me, that Sir John Borlace met with some resistance at Colpe, at an old Tower, which he attempted to take; and that many of the Rebels were come from the North-side of the River in a ferry-boat, and entered into Stamine, whereby it was supposed they would attempt something against those that were before Colpe. On this Advertisement, my Lord Moore and myself returned, and finding no Appearance

of the Rebels' Intention to do anything, the Evening being come on, I prepared to march home; and leaving the Lord Moore I went towards Sir John Borlace before Colpe, where by the way I was Advertised that the Rebels were sally'd out of Stamine with two hundred Foot to surprise those before Colpe; I instantly directed Captain Billingsly to take eighty Musketeers, and fall up to the side of the Way, where there was the Advantage of a Ditch; and with such Horse as were with me, I made directly to the opener Place, though somewhat about; and by that Time I came in sight of the Rebels, Captain Billingsly and they were exchanging some shots; but upon the Approach of the Horse, coming on with a round Charge, the Rebels fled again into Stamine, and by the Way there was slain of them a Lieutenant, thirteen Soldiers, and a Captain of the O'Neals wounded, and taken Prisoner; and if my Horse had not been bog'd with some others, being ignorant of the Ways, I believe many more had been slain, and the Place taken the same night, with many of their Commanders in it, who stole away before the next Morning to the other side of the River with Sir Phelim O'Neal, who during the Conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a Furze-bush, as I was afterwards informed. And thus the south side of the River was wholly cleared of the Rebels, and Plenty of Corn and Food began to be amongst us."

It may not be out of place here to speak of the Cathedral Church of Armagh. The original edifice is said to have been erected by St. Patrick in the year 445. It appears from the authority of the tripartite life of the founder, to have been an oblong structure 140 feet in length, and divided into nave and choir, according to the custom of all ancient Irish Churches. This sacred edifice did not escape the sacrilegious devastations of the Norsemen. It was pillaged and burned, together with other

buildings, in 839 and 850. In 890, it was partly broken down by the Danes of Dublin, under the orders of Gluniarn. In 995 it was burned, by an accidental conflagration, caused by lightning; and again in the year 1020. In 1225, the roof was repaired with tiles, by the Primate Celsus, having for the period of one hundred and thirty years, after the fire in 995, been only repaired in part. A more perfect restoration was effected by the Primate Gelasius in 1145, on which occasion, according to the annalists, he constructed a kiln or furnace for the preparation of lime, which kiln appears to have been quadrangular, and was of the extraordinary dimensions of 60 feet on every side. After this period, this venerable remain appears to have suffered little, save from age, till the seventeenth century; when, on the 3rd of May, 1642, it was burned by this Sir Phelim O'Neil, whose gallantry Sir Henry Tichborne has duly recorded. After this feat, it was deemed no longer serviceable, and the present church was erected on its site in 1675, by the benevolent Archbishop Margetson.—But to proceed—

"The several happy successes"—says Sir Henry Tichborne—"against the Rebels stirred the Lord Moore and other Officers of Quality, to crave that they might have competent Forces assigned them to fall on the Rebels Quarter at Tullahallen; which I readily assented to, and caused four hundred Foot and most of the Horse, to be in a readiness to issue forth under the Lord Moore's Command: which was no sooner done, but I immediately caused three hundred Foot and fifteen Horse remaining behind, to march forth under my own Leading after them; for I considered that the Rebels Head-Quarters was at Bewly, that they had another Quarter at Carstown and Carlington; all which might with Convenience fall in the Rere of the Lord Moore, and give assistance to their Partners at Tullahallen: and as

I supposed, by that time I was come near unto Kilanure, I could discern the Rebels all upon their March; but they perceiving my Strength, which were so placed, that at a Distance they appeared double the Number, stood still at a Gaze, and went no farther; until within a short Time, News came to me of the prosperous success of the Lord Moore, who with the other Officers behaved themselves with such Valour and Courage, that they forced the Rebels from a Place of Advantage which they had betaken themselves unto, and killed four hundred upon the Place, with seven Captains, and Art Roe Mac Mahon taken Prisoner, whose head was valued in the Proclamation to the taker or bringer in of him at four hundred pounds; and several others comprehended in the Proclamation, were slain or taken by us without note or recompense. I finding the work done without need of my assistance, turned myself with the Party that I led, towards those Rebels that shewed themselves embodied at a Distance; but I found that they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt Newton, and other of their Lodgings, and so returned into the Town."

"The evening after this Day's glorious Work, wherein God, as in former Times, sent us great Deliverance, the Rebels abandoned their Head Quarters at Bewly, and the villages adjoining unto it, and marched secretly away to Dundalk, whereof I had speedy Notice, and sent forth a Party to possess Bewly, and to remain in Garrison in it, thereby preventing the Rebels, who repenting of their sudden Departure, within less than an Hour after my Men were entered, returned thither to repossess the Place; but finding unexpected Opposition, forsook the attempt with the loss of two of their Men. The next Morning I rounded the Country two or three miles about, saw many Rebels on Hills and Places afar off, but as I made towards them, they always avoided me. The Country was left full of Corn,

and stored with Cattle, which afforded us plenty of Relief. A few days after, I summoned Platten, a strong Castle Garrisoned by the Rebels, within two miles of Drogheda, but was not listened unto: yet three days after I returned thither stronger and better prepared to force them, than I was at the first; and finally, I received it on Composition, that the Garrison should depart unarmed, and carry away some few Goods and Provisions with them. Before the surrender of this place, the Marquis of Ormonde was marched forth of Dublin, to come to our Relief; and though he were advertised by the way of God's Blessings upon us, yet he came forwards to Rejoice with us in our Deliverance, and to see the state of Affairs among us, with intention to prosecute the Northern Rebels until they were utterly Destroyed: but the State conceiving it too hazardous, withcalled him from the Enterprise, and sent me likewise DirectiontoAdventure no farther Abroad than so I might return the same Day, and lodge in safety within the Walls. My Lord returned as he was required, and I by my Letters besought the Council to withdraw their strict Limitation, in case they expected Action from me, and conceived me capable, after so many trials and hazards, to do them Service. Upon this I was left again to my own way of Proceeding, with a grave and sound Advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings. The Day following, early in the Morning, I marched forth accompanied with the Lord Moore, and a competent Strength of Horse and Foot, unto Barnwell of Rahasker's House, and found him not drest, misdoubting no Visitation of that kind: a little resistance I found, but after a while, he was contented to surrender, on Promise that he might be a Prisoner left unto the Law, and not presently put to Death; for this Barnwell had served beyond seas, was a Colonel among the Rebels, and on whose Head was set four hundred pounds as

a Recompense for any that brought him in Dead or Alive. That Day, as I returned, I burnt some Villages, took a large Prey in Cattle and Sheep, to the great satisfaction of the Soldiers, who now fed plentifully after their long Penury and Want."

It should be here mentioned that, in one of these excursions of the Marquis of Ormonde, his troops and those of Lord Mountgarrett, marched parallel to each other, on two ridges, to the northward of Inch Castle, in the county of Kildare, the evening previous to the battle of Kilrush, fought at this period. Mountgarrett being very superior in numbers, and anxious for battle, outmarched Ormonde's troops, and posted himself on Bull-hill and Kilrush, completely intercepting Ormonde's further progress to Dublin: thus, an engagement became inevitable. The left wing of the Rebels was broken by the first charge; the right, encouraged by their leaders, maintained the contest for some time; but eventually fell back to a neighbouring eminence, since called Battlemount; here they broke, fled, and were pursued with great slaughter across the ground over which they had the day before marched. This victory was considered of so much importance, that Ormonde was by the English Government presented with—as it is mentioned—"a jewel, value £500."

We should also state, though it may be thought out of place, that, to the eastward of Inch Castle, is to be seen the *Rath of Mullimast* or *Mullach Mastean*, (the moat of decapitation) so called from the treacherous conduct of some adventurers in the sixteenth century, who having overrun part of the neighbouring country, were determinedly opposed by the Irish chieftains, whose properties lay on the Queen's county side of the river Barrow. It was, however, proposed by these adventurers (as they are termed), that a conference should be held at this place,

with a view to settle all the disputes satisfactorily to both parties. On New Year's day, 1577, the Barrow chiefs attended the conference; but were treacherously made prisoners and beheaded—the assassins took possession of their victims' estates. But to proceed.

"At this time there was a great Rumour that the Rebels would return to the seige of Drogheda, and that O'Reily, with his Cavan Forces, consisting of two thousand Men, were that Night to be lodged at Slane, within five miles of us. This Intelligence was delivered to me about nine of the clock in the Morning, and whether framed by the Rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the Reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not lose the Advantage of Time, caused five hundred Foot, with all the Horse, to be instantly in arms, and accompanied with the Lord Moore, I marched unto the Place, entered the Town, took the Castle, which the Soldiers pillaged, aad fired the Houses, that it might remain no future shelter for the Rebels. Three days after, being still alarmed with the Rebel Forces, which were *fam'd* to be many, and lodged at Atherdee, eight miles from Drogheda; and I, being desirous to understand the certainty of their Strength and Condition, which in regard to the Infidelity of divers Natives which I employed for Intelligence, (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth twelve hundred Foot and four Troops of Horse, intending to discover it myself; and the 21st of March, with two days' Provision of Victual, meaning within that space to return, I marched to Slane, and reduced that Castle, which the Rebels had again repossessed, and did some other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The same Night I went two or three miles farther, to lodge in a Place of some Strength four or five miles sideways from Atherdee. The Rebels appeared in clusters on several Hills about me, but their footmanship or vigilance failed them, for the

horse I sent forth surprised and overtook many of them, putting them to the sword before they could recover a place of safety."

"The next Morning I set forward on my first Design, with intention only to discover the Enemies strength, and not to Advance my Body of Foot nearer than within two miles of Atherdee, that I might secure my Forces upon the Passes, and other Places of Advantage, in case I found the Rebels, as was reported, (though I could hardly believe it,) much too strong to be dealt with. But my Scouts gone forth, and also a party of Horse with thirty Musketeers, to secure a Pass; after a march of two miles they discovered the Rebels from the Top of a steep Hill, in two Divisions, in the valley beneath, consisting, as they supposed, of two thousand five hundred Foot, and a Body of Horse near unto them. Upon this Advertisement, I ordered one hundred and twenty choice Musketeers to be drawn forth, and to follow me with speed, and join with the thirty Musketeers which were before them; and that the rest of the Foot should Advance after them a moderate Pace. I took all the Horse with me, and went to the Top of the Hill, where I had a full sight of the Rebels, whose Foot were no less than two thousand, as was afterwards confessed by some of themselves. Their Horse appeared in sight to be fewer than ours, though there were present Sir Phelim O'Neal, the Lord of Louth, and divers of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the Pale, with many Chief Commanders of the Northern Rebels. I considered their Number and Order, and apprehending a fair Possibility of routing them, I commanded the Horse to follow me down the Hill. The Officers at first conceived some danger in it; but when I shewed them it was observable that the Rebels were Irresolute in their Purposes, and that upon the sight of us they had not advanced one foot forward; that in regard of the Ground before us,

they might have done it with Advantage to themselves, in case they had resolved meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the Hill, we could not be prejudiced by them, except by some shot at Random; and if the Rebels should retire we had fit Ground and Opportunity to Charge them; if they abode, I doubted not, by God's Assistance, to do it with safety when the Foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the Hill, and by this Time the one hundred and fifty Musketeers I had ordered to follow me a swift Pace, were came up to me; I took of them a small Party, and caused them to give Fire upon an hedge and ditch that was near a musket shot right before one of the Rebels Divisions of Foot, mistrusting some Ambush, which upon the Fire given immediately discovered itself, and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their Divisions to waver, and incline towards a Retreat; and being loth to lose the Opportunity, I caused my other Musketeers to Advance, and the Horse to offer a Charge, which their Horse intending not to abide, quitted their Security by speedy flight, and their Foot with little dispute followed after them. Their Horse abandoned the Field the sooner, because they could discern I had sent forth a Party of Horse towards the other end of the Town to intercept their Flight, the thing it seems they chiefly intended, in case they met with any opposition. There were slain of their Foot several officers of Note, and at least six hundred private soldiers."

"In prosecution of this Victory which God had given us, I found a stop at the Gate, which the Rebels had closed at the end of the Bridge leading into the Town, and from thence plied us with some shot; but as soon as I had drawn a Party of Musketeers to play upon them, I found their shooting abated, insomuch that I Adventured over the Bridge to the Gate, and through the chinks I saw it was barricaded with stones; but upon the right hand of the

Bridge I perceived a Ford, which I returned unto, and ordering the Horse to follow me, I entered, and Charged through the Town, where, at the end without the Gate, the Enemies Horse appeared to us again, standing in good order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the Matter, through the Advantage of a Bog, they were at least half a mile from us; neither intended they a nearer distance, for being most of them Men of Quality, and all well mounted, they betook themselves immediately to their speed, and were pursued by Captain Marrow above three miles in vain. Some stragglers were snatched up, and between sixty and seventy slain on the Bog on the other side of the Town; and many others had run the same Fortune, but that most of my Foot were busy in pillaging the Town, and could not be gotten together in convenient Time to prosecute the service."

"At Atherdee I rested the next Day, being the 24th of March, and rode only with a Party of Horse three or four miles farther into the Country; and had a sight of many Rebels afar off, but met with no Opposition from any of them."

"That Evening I moved the Lord Moore and other Chief Officers to give me their Advice, touching a Desire I had of prosecuting this Victory God had given us, as far as Dundalk; for it was evident that the Rebels were terrified and amazed through this sudden and unexpected Overthrow befallen them, and to follow them close would deprive them of present Counsel and Assurance in the way of Defence. The Lord Moore and all the Officers embraced the Motion with much Cheerfulness, and so the next Morning, being Friday, I marched into Hagardstown, a Village strongly seated within two little miles of Dundalk, and lodged there that Night."

"The next Morning we set forwards towards Dundalk,

and Sir Phelim O'Neal with his Horse, shewed himself without the Gate that was next unto us; and I supposed he would likewise have drawn forth his Foot, to meet us in the Field, because he could have trebled the Strength that was with me: but upon my nearer Approach, Sir Phelim perceiving I would not forsake my Advantage through Fear of the Number that were with him, he retired within the Gates, and there attended my coming, giving Fire from the Walls, which continued thick for a while, until the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers brought them under the Walls of the Suburbs, where in short Time they forced open the Gate, and entered both Horse and Foot: but the Rebels that had before shewed great Stands of Pikes, were almost wholly retired into the Inner Town, and left a Castle well Manned in the midst of the Suburbs, which Castle did much annoy us; and it was the opinion of many that we had proceeded already beyond Expectation, and that we might with honour forsake the Enterprize. But my Desire was otherwise, the rather, because it pleased God to send a sudden strong and favourable Wind, which, when I had fired the Suburbs, drove the smoke violently into the Town, greatly annoying the Rebels and furthering my Design; insomuch, that under Coverture of the smoke, I made use of my Pioneers with less Danger, and by degrees got close under the Castle, and heaped up much combustible Stuff against the Door and fired it; which caused the Defendants to abandon their arms, and shift for themselves, but little to the Safety of most of them. In the Castle I placed some Musketeers to give Fire on the Enemy in the Market-Place; and the smoke of the Suburbs abating, I could see many Rebels, for my greater Encouragement, running forth at the North side of the Town; whereupon, I sent Captain Marrow with a Party of Horse towards that Place, and followed after him Myself with a few Horse, leaving Direction with

Lieutenant-Colonel Biron to do the like with my Division of Foot. When I came to the side, I might see Sir Phelim O'Neal with his *Crue* on horseback, on the top of an Hill on the other side of the River, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed Lieutenant-Colonel Biron to fall on that part of the Town where the Wall was low and decayed, and had little other Defence than a Graff with Water, not impassable; but on the sudden I could hear one calling behind me, that Marrow was charged by one hundred and twenty Horse, and distrest. Whereupon I caused the Foot to make a Stand, and returned to the relief of Marrow, whom I met soon after coming from the chase of the Rebels, having met with no Opposition. This false Alarm being over, I pursued my former Purpose, and willed the Foot to proceed; and taking Captain Marrow and those Horse with me, I passed suddenly to the North Gate at which the Rebels ran out. The Gate I found open, and many unarmed People hastening forth: those we went regardless through, and made up to the Market-Place, where I found no resistance, every one having shifted for himself; only the Musketeers which I placed in the Castle in the Suburbs did a little annoy us, mistaking us for the Enemy, until I made them understand the contrary by signs; and also sending unto the Lord Moore and the other Officers, that I was entered and possessed of the Town."

"Afterwards I commanded all the Horse and Foot to march in, and draw up in Order in the Market-Place, and I caused the Quarter-Masters to divide the Town into Quarters, proportionable to the Companies of Horse and Foot; and what Booty there was in any Quarter that I left to the Officers and Soldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the Confusion and Contention about Pillaging was taken away, and I had the Soldiers in readiness to Answer the Rebels Motion and

Attempts, who rumoured great Words, and still swarmed very thick in those Parts. The number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little Mercy shewed in these Times."

We are apprehensive it may be considered by some readers that we have been extracting too freely, as well as copiously, from this able officer's deeply interesting letter; but as we are wholly unacquainted—and we have not been negligent in our researches—with any other historical, or equally respectable source, from whence such admirable and evidently authentic accounts can be obtained, of the parts acted by the highly exasperated contending parties, at this, to Ireland, eventful and most calamitous period;—unfortunately too, only the harbinger of times still more so;—we have therefore nothing for it, but to proceed as we originally intended,—confident that, in doing so, we need makes no apologies, especially to military readers; and as we felt, at once, that by attempting to modernise the style in which it is written, we only weakened the expression, we prefer still using Sir Henry Tichborne's own words.

"When the News of this success came to Dublin, the State apprehended that I was engaged into too imminent Danger, and partly sent me Advice to abandon the Place; which Town being of importance to the Service, I neither thought fit nor honourable to do, except I received a positive Command and Direction to that Purpose; for I was confident to hold it against all the Rebels' Forces that durst appear before it. Besides, I conceived the ten thousand Scots would not be idle when they should hear that I was Advanced so far Northward, with an handful of Men in comparison of their Numbers. The Rebels were soon grown Numerous again by the Access of some Northern Forces to their aid, and lodged in a strong Castle towards the Fews, about four miles from Dundalk; there I faced them several

Days, but they never Adventured beyond their Fastness more than once, and that a little way with a Party of Horse, which I caused soon to be met with (by God's continual Blessing) to their Disadvantage, and killing a few, (for they had a Bog to Friend) took Toby Guinne, a special Favourite of Sir Phelim O'Neal, Prisoner. This Man had been bred amongst us, and married to an Englishman's Daughter, but now a Degenerated, Active, and Notorious Rebel; in which Respect, notwithstanding many Promises of large Ransom or Exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the Sight of Sir Phelim O'Neal and his Battalions."

"About this Time I had News of the Scots coming towards the Newry; and the next Day I drew my Foot upon the Strand towards Carlingford, that the Rebel Scouts might discern them marching, though I had no Intention to leave Dundalk Naked, in the view of Sir Phelim O'Neal and his Rebel Companions on the other side. But taking the Horse with me, and giving Order to the Foot to return, as soon as I was out of sight, I went straight to Carlingford, with Intention to Summon the Place, which I believed upon the Scout's Report of my Foot following after me, would occasion them to Surrender on easy Conditions; but it appeared their Terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I saw the Town on fire, and hastening thither a Party of my Horse, they overtook a Sea Captain and some of his Men in the street running into the Castle, believing us to be the Rebels, which when they found otherwise, it was much to their Contentment. From this Captain I understood, that lying with his ship in the harbour to attend the Scots Motion with Necessaries, that, that Morning the Town and Castle were hastily fired by the Inhabitants themselves, and they all fled into the Mountains; and that an English woman or two that had escaped the general Slaughter, were gotten into the Castle, had hindred the fire

in what they could, and wafted him thither, where he came, and found the State of Things to be as I then found them. I wished him to make the best Advantage of what the Rebels had left behind, and to secure the Castle with a Guard until I could send a Captain of the Foot to take it into his Charge, having no other than Horse with me at that Time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly."

Though Carlingford had been a station of great importance in the early ages of the English ascendancy in Ireland, it was now no longer so. The town was never regularly walled or fortified; but as it was exposed to continual attack or surprise, from its being situated on the borders of the Pale, every principal building was designed on the model of a fortress or castle. That called King John's Castle, is now an extensive and imposing ruin, "moored on a rifted rock," the sides of which are laved on the east by the sea, whilst inland, there is a narrow pass, overhung by wild and lofty mountains. To command this pass the various buildings appear to have been erected; and their forms were necessarily adapted to the natural circumstances of the site. These buildings contain baronial halls, and other apartments, a court-yard surrounded with traces of galleries, recesses, &c.—the walls, in some places, are eleven feet in thickness.

The prospect from the summit, over the beautiful bay of Carlingford,—one of the finest in Ireland—the Cooley, and the mountains of Mourne, is grand beyond description. What adds greatly to the interest attached to this place, the ancient annals of Ireland state that, in the year 432, St. Patrick's second landing was there effected.

"Upon my return the same night," says Sir Henry Tichborne, "I received a letter from the Lord Conway, inviting me to visit him and Major-General Munroe at the Newry, that we might advise of a farther Prosecution of

the Rebels. The Day following I went thither with two Troops of Horse and a Troop of Dragoons; and upon Conference, I conceived their Intention and Resolution was, at my parting, to march into Ardmagh, to chace the Rebels out of all their Fastnesses, and to clear the North. But, a few Days after, I received another Letter from the Lord Conway, that they had deserted that Design for the present, and were returning back again, in respect their Victuals was spent unto five Days. A while afterwards the Scots were earnest with me to deliver the Castle of Carlingford into their Hands; which had been a great Weakness in me to do, as it was Presumption in them to desire, without the Direction of the State."

"Sir Phelim O'Neal and his Partisans grew very jolly upon the Scots return, and persuaded themselves of doing great Matters against me. But their Courage proved to be only in Words, for I drew forth some Days together into a convenient Field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake their Strength to draw into Equality of Ground, notwithstanding their Advantage of Numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other Morning into their Quarters, and continued these Visitations for several Weeks together, with the Slaughter of very many of them, especially the new Plantation in the County of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Harry O'Neal's House in the Fews; insomuch that by this Course, and the like acted often by the Garrison at Drogheda, there was neither Man nor Beast to be found in sixteen miles between the two Towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the County of Monaghan, nearer than Carrrick-Mac-Cross, a strong Pile twelve miles distant."

"And notwithstanding this continual Travel abroad, I

went forwards at Home with the help of the Officers and Soldiers (wherein they cheerfully concurred with me) to raise a Parapet on one side of the Town of Dundalk, (that was Naked of other Defence than a large Graff with Water), and to repair the Walls on the other side that were greatly broken. I likewise cut off part of the Town to make it more defensible with a large Ditch and Parapet; and made a Draw-Bridge, and raised two Platforms to secure the Curtains with three Pieces of Ordnance I had taken from the Rebels. And all this was done without a Penny Charge to the State, or any allowance ever given me in Consideration of it."

It ought here to be remarked that, whilst the Rebels appear to have been able to furnish themselves not only with cannon, but with every thing necessary to enable them to carry on the war efficiently, Sir Henry Tichborne's comparative small force was wholly destitute of them; for these three *pieces of ordnance* are the only guns mentioned as yet by him in the course of his narrative: indeed, he seems to have been left almost entirely to his own resources and fertile military genius, to supply what was wanted for his troops. But this was the period when the British Parliament were withholding from their king, military supplies of every description, to be afterwards used against himself.—But to proceed:—

"About the midst of June, I went to Dublin, and after a few Days' stay, I returned unto my Charge, prosecuting the Rebels, as I had formerly done. In August I went again to Dublin, and staying a short Time there, I came back to Drogheda, where I remained until the Lord Lisle went forth with part of the army to remove the Rebels from about Trim; in which Expedition, I waited on his Lordship with five hundred choice Foot. And that Service ended by the Rebels firing the Castle they possessed, and

retreating, and my Lord's taking of Clone in the County of West-meath, burning the House at Lough, Ramour, and Viginia; and taking Carrick-Mac-Cross in the County of Monaghan, with great store of Prey, and Destruction of the Rebels."

"His Lordship returned, and I attended him unto Drogheda, where I remained as in my Place of Settlement; for about this Time the Lord Moore received a Commission from his Majesty for the Command of the County of Louth, and the Barony of Slane; whereupon I surrendered the Garrison of Dundalk, as comprised in that Grant, with much Corn, Hay, and Cattle as was provided for my own spending; Eighty Barrels of Herring, three hundred and twenty-four Barrels of Corn, near seventy tons of Coals in the store for the Guards; the Works about the Town repaired and fortified as aforesaid, without a Penny Charge to the State. And from that Time I applied myself to the Necessities of Drogheda, where the former Plenty being now consumed, and little Relief to be obtained from Dublin, I had many Wants to contend with, which I endeavoured to remedy by drawing all the Cattle and Corn I could Procure, into the Store, and buying some with my ready money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the *Cessation*, I never sold Cow, or Barrel of Bread-Corn for my peculiar Use, but turned all to the Furtherance of the Publick. And of other Pillage I rarely received any; but left it for the most part entire to the Officers and Soldiers, who deserved greater Recompense, Adventuring themselves with much Valour, Resolution, and Patience in the daily Prosecution of the Service. Many of the Rebels were slain at several Times; but the most, and most remarkable during this Winter, was at the Mill of Kells, which they obstinately maintained."

"In March, the Marquis of Ormonde led the army, with the Flower of the Garrison of Drogheda and other adjacent

Garrisons, towards Ross; and I receiving Intelligence that the Rebels intended to send of their Northern Forces, to assist their Party in those Quarters against the Marquis of Ormonde, I moved the Lord Moore to draw the best Strength he could conveniently from Dundalk; and sending for those that might be spared from Trim, I met them at Kells, the appointed Rendezvous, with a Party from Drogheda, where we made in all eleven hundred Foot, and one hundred and twenty Horse. At Kells we took a few Prisoners that were not aware of their Danger, and amongst them one Plunket, a Popish Archdeacon. Part of the Cavan Forces were then near us, and sent a Drummer pretending to treat an Exchange or Ransom of the Archdeacon. The Drummer, as is the custom of such fellows, spake much of the Strength and Valour of the Cavan Men; and I, that I might make a little Use of his Errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our Strength and Intention, than to redeem the Prisoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through West-Meath towards the County of Longford; but since he spake so much of the Number and Courage of the Cavan Forces near me, I would turn my Course that Way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for Fear of their Power and Ability to resist me. The Drummer appeared to be perplexed, because his Boasting was like to bring Inconvenience upon his Country, not formerly intended; wherefore I said farther (for I knew it would have Wings when it came amongst them) that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrified) lodge that Night in the County of Cavan, it not being two miles out of my Way into the County of Longford. And after we were all in Readiness to march, I dismissed the Drummer, Cheerful in the Apprehension that he had discovered so much of my Purpose. That Night we went eight miles into the County of Cavan,

saw many Rebels, but they knew their Distance; yet at Lough Ramor, in an Island, we lighted on the Earl Fingall's two Children, thirty case of new Pistols, with other Goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence."

"That Night, about one of the clock, the Moon shining, we set forth towards the Cavan, came thither seasonably the next Day, and unexpected, the Rebels being secure in their Drummer's Report that I intended another Way; the Town was soon abandoned, and every man shifted for himself. The next Day, the Rebels were gotten together, fought with us at Ballyhays: afterwards at a Bridge within three miles of Belturbet. We routed them at both Places in one Day, took two Captains and several other Prisoners, besides many of their Soldiers and some remarkable Men slain by us. We freed divers English that were in Restraint among them, and killed a Rebel as he was firing a House, wherein there were ten English Shut up ready to be burnt. I staid two Days entire in those Parts, burnt Ballyhays, the Cavan, and other Places, and then returned with a great Prey, which served much to the Relief of our several Garrisons, in those Days of exceeding Wants and great Extremities."

"About the latter end of April, when I had prepared to fall into the County of Longford, I was fain to forsake that Design, and to repair to Dublin, whither I was called by His Majesty's Letter to be one of his Justices; a Charge as far beyond my Expectation or Desire, as unsuitable to my Parts or Fortune: yet there being a Necessity of my Obedience, I framed myself to the best of my Capacity to advance the Publick Service, and fin ing the Army in the highest Extremity of Want, all Ways and Means already sought and run through for their Support, even to the seizing of the Native Commodities of the Kingdom; hides, tallow, and such like, taken from shipboard after the Customs paid,

and exposed to sale. I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir John Borlace, his Majesty's other Justice, and Myself, with the Council, daily assembled. We spent the whole Time in sending Complaints into England, both to King and Parliament; in the mean Time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole Board for Money, and all sorts of Victual and Commodities convertible to the Soldiers' Relief."

"Amidst these Extremities His Majesty's Letters came over, signifying His Majesty's Sorrow, and Disability to relieve us, in regard of the Troubles in England. All Men's Eyes were on the Parliament, but no Succours in those Times arriving from thence to support the Forces, His Majesty permitted a Treaty to be had with the Irish, touching a *Cessation* of arms, in case all other Helps were failing: which was so generally disagreeing to the Board, that most of them desired to run any Fortune and Extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was so much of that opinion, that when the Marquis of Ormonde made offer that if he might be advanced £10,000., part Victuals, part Shoes and Stockings, and part Money, that he would immediately draw towards the Rebels, and either Compel them to run the Hazard of the Field, or to forsake their Quarters, and leave them to the Spoil of our Soldiers, which might prove to them a future Subsistence. And when Theodore Scout, and the rest of the Merchants of Dublin, had refused to advance the Money upon the security of all the Lands of the whole Board, and the Customs of Dublin for the Interest of the Money; I moved the Board, there being at that Time one and twenty Counsellors present, and Myself of meanest Fortune among them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar Means and Credit, would procure £300., which amongst us all would raise £6300. For even with that Sum, and such Means as the

Marquis of Ormonde should procure himself, he offered to undertake the Work, and that there should be no farther mention of *Cessation* amongst us. But this motion of Mine finding no Place, the *Cessation* in short time began to be treated on, and was in Sincerity of Heart as much hindered and delayed by me, as was in my Power; for I believed it would be hurtful to the Publick, and therefore I cast in Rubs to lengthen the Treaty, expecting daily Relief and Money from England, whither Sir Thomas Wharton was employed with the sad Stories of the Publick Miseries. Thus was the *Cessation* laid aside for a while, which was afterwards renewed at Gigenstown."

"At this Time, Owen O'Neal fell into our Quarters, and took several Castles, for want of competent Forces to oppose him. Whereupon, understanding that Munroe, with a flourishing army of Scots, was in the county of Ardmagh, and in three Days' March might be brought to our Assistance; I moved the Board to write unto him, to Advance his Forces, and joyn with us against the Common Enemy. And because the Message might be better accepted, Colonel Crawford was employed unto him with the aforesaid Letter, and particular Advice and Persuasion from Myself to hasten his coming. How Colonel Crawford acquitted himself in the Discharge of this Trust, will best appear by Munroe's Answer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord Moore his voluntary readiness to joyn with us; but now invited, and that by a Power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the Marquis of Ormonde had not signed the Letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed from Colonel Crawford, that the Marquis of Ormonde was absent from the Treaty; and that the Letter could not in consequence of Time be transmitted unto him, returned, and sent, with Expectation of that speedy Remedy we were necessarily to reap by it."

" Now this Hope failing, as a broken Reed not to be rely'd on, Colonel Monk was called from good success in the County of Wicklow, to join with the Lord Moore for the succour of Meath, where the Lord Moore was unhappily slain: yet the Expectation of Victual and Relief from England stopped the hasty Progress of the *Cessation*, until the Evening, as I take it, of the 11th or 12th of September, a fleet of ships was discovered near the Harbour, to the great Joy of all honest Hearts: but the next Morning, one Captain Dauske, that was come in with the Fleet of Provisions, and had landed the Night before, returned early on shipboard, hoisted sail, forsook the Harbour, and compelled seventeen Barks laden with Necessaries from Liverpool and other Places to do the like. On what Ground or Intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so rare and unlooked for Accident amazed all Men, put the Soldiers into a Mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable and in my Apprehension, a very dishonourable *Cessation* to be concluded with the Rebels, with very much Dislike of most of those that were Actors in the Treaty."

" Sir John Borlace and Myself continued the Place of Justices until about Christmas following, and then by His Majesty's Direction delivered up the Sword to the Marquis of Ormonde; and I retiring Myself to my former Charge at Drogheda, laboured to support that Garrison, that in due Time it might be serviceable to the Crown of England. And when, the Summer following, the Scotch Forces advanced into West-Meath, returned by our Quarters, and lodged at Atherdee, though they profest themselves opposite to our Party, and had proffer'd some Acts of Hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder Provision to be sent unto them, as some Snarlers at all my Actions have untruly suggested: but the Truth is, they abounded in all Provisions, and staid at Atherdee but one Night, insomuch that the Drink and

other Necessaries that several Persons of Drogheda had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was desired."

"About eight or ten Days after that the Scotch Army was returned into the North, the Earl of Castlehaven, and Owen Roe O'Neal, with all the Irish Strength, came unto Atherdee, and remained in those Parts, as I remember, above fourteen Days; and during the Time of their Abode, they required the Benefit of the Market, for the buying of such Provisions as were needful for them, and that the Town and Garrison might Spare: which demand agreeing with the Articles of *Cessation*, could not be in reason absolutely denied by me, except I would draw their united Forces on Drogheda, the Garrison being weak, and unable to oppose them. And this was a Thing that was proposed amongst them by Owen Roe O'Neal, as I was informed. However, I cast in many Rubs, and found several Ways to delay their Desire of Commerce, until at last the Earl of Castlehaven sent his Lieutenant-General to understand the Reason of my Backwardness, and to expostulate the Matter with me at large: and then indeed I had Direction from Dublin to grant them their Desire; whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman Geves, the present Mayor of the Town, and told him in the presence of the Lieutenant-General, that the Articles of the *Cessation* afforded free Traffic for either Party; and that a provident Care being in the first place taken for the Necessities of the Town, the Benefit of the Market might be granted unto those that were without; and the Lieutenant-General might appoint some one of the Inhabitants of the Town to buy such Provisions for the use of the Irish Army, as could be conveniently spared. Whereupon he named one Dardis, who came unto me to know whether he might with Safety, and without future Blame, be employed by them: and I told him, he might; for I was not willing

that any of theirs should lodge in the Town, or frequent our Markets. The Provision that they had, was most Drink. Of 160 Barrels of Wheat bought for their Use, I caused the Moiety to be stopped. Some Oatmeal they had, and coarse Bread of Beans and Pease were carried forth by private Persons to be sold unto them. The whole Quantities are extant in the Excise-Books of Drogheda, not amounting in all to the value of £800, most of it being in Beer, and of little relief to the Irish army; though much hath been spoken on this Subject to traduce me, by foul Mouths, and Persons of unsound Hearts, which hath caused me the rather thus far to insist on this Particular."

We were often anxious to have curtailed the extracts we have already made from Sir Henry Tichborne's letter; but if we had done so, we could not have considered ourselves in any respect justified; for, he delineates so perfectly much that occurred, and shews in such distinct colours the wretched state to which Ireland was then reduced, as well as the angry feelings which so strongly influenced the minds of both parties, and which had grown out of the cruel acts perpetrated especially at the commencement of this horrid rebellion, that unless we used even his own antiquated expressions, we would weaken the force and greatly reduce the value of what the French would so properly designate *a Mémorie pour servir à l'histoire d'Irlande;* we must therefore go on to its conclusion, without any farther remarks of our own, which in fact are wholly unnecessary.

"From that Time I continued constant in my Care and Charge, without intermeddling in other Affairs, until certain Overtures of Peace were propounded by the Irish Party, in my Opinion very unequal, as destructive to the Protestant Religion, exceeding hurtful to His Majesty's present Service, and to the utter Ruin of the English Interest in this Kingdom."

"And that His Majesty might rightly understand the Conditions of the Irish, and the Nature and Quality of their Demands, I was sent among others into Oxford, with the whole Passages of the Treaty, and did acquit Myself with that Freedom in every Particular, as became the Loyalty and Fidelity I owe unto my King and Country. And at our Return from Oxford, all of us that were upon the aforesaid Employment, were taken at Sea, betweenWales and Ireland, and carried Prisoners unto London, and committed to the Tower: a bad Recompense of my Endeavours. Yet I cannot justly complain, because foul and false Accusations were exhibited against me, which coming to be justified, had not so much as a shadow of Truth."

"Afterwards, I was enlarged on Exchange, and continued my Command in Ireland with the same Duty, Zeal, and Affection to the Service of my King and Country, as I had formerly done, and in pursuance thereof, the Commissioners sent over by the Parliament, being willing to Continue my Employment, I embraced it with cheerfulness, and in a few Days passing from Dublin to Drogheda, with a small Convoy of fifteen Horse, and as many more Officers of Quality and Valour, besides some Travellers and Merchants, we were waylaid by near three hundred Rebels, choice Horse, well armed and mounted; whom notwithstanding, it being a Case of Necessity, we boldly Charged, killed the Captain that led them; and there, in the midst of the Rebels, a *Young Man* (to say no more of him, because he was my Son,) *of fair Hopes*, was to my continual Sorrow, unfortunately slain. Afterwards, we made good our Retreat Three Miles, losing in it, and in the first Place of Combat, those Eleven Men; and amongst them Lieutenant-Colonel Trevor, a Gentleman of singular Worth and Valour. Neither had the Rebels much to vaunt of, for they lost Two Leaders of Quality and sixty Troopers. This I relate the more particularly, because

the Opposition they found in so small a Party served greatly to abate their Courage, when we met them some nine or ten Days after, at the Battle of Dungan Hill. At that Battle I led the Rear-Guard of the Army, and acquitted Myself in that Day's Service as became me; whereof the Parliament, without any Motion or Expectation of mine, were pleased to take so far Notice, as to Vote me £200. A while after I fell into the County of Cavan, took a great Prey from the Rebels, burnt much of their Corn, and returned without the loss of one Man."

"In November following I had Notice, and gave Colonel Jones Advertisement of Owen Roe O'Neal's Preparations and March towards our Quarters; and this being Saturday, in the Evening, I sent immediately Directions that Night to the Horse at Drogheda and the Garrisons in those Parts, consisting of two Regiments and five Troops, to be with me at Trim on the Monday Morning following. And accordingly seven Troops came to me, as the rest might have done to the Advantage of the Service, but it did not at that Time. With these seven Troops, I followed the Rear-Guard of O'Neal, and sometimes on his Flank, from Monday till Thursday following, taking and killing divers of his Men that were left to fire our Quarters; by which means I preserved much of the Country from Spoil. On Thursday in the Afternoon the rest of the Horse came up to me; and I also received a Letter from Colonel Jones, in any case to joyn with him, near Dublin, if possibly I could; which I effected at Donsin, three miles from Dublin, between ten and eleven at Night. The next Morning we marched after Owen Roe, and before Night overtook him with his Army, between Ratothe and Garristown. That we then fought not with him, he being on his Retreat in a kind of flying Posture, was the Advice and Counsel of warier Men than Myself; for Advantage ought not to be lost through the

Fear of the Number of the Enemy, since the flight of the baser sort serves to rout the most valorous; and we had many hopeful Reasons to make a Trial of at that Time. But Colonel Jones, though not ignorant of the Occasion, yet would not be persuaded by me; but delayed the Execution of it till the next Day, which Owen Roe, by stealing away in the Night, utterly prevented."

"Not long after I entered into the County of Westmeath with a considerable Party of Horse and Foot, took the Town of Foore, and another Castle, and burnt them; with several other Places, and abundance of Corn in store and stack, as far as Multefarnam; insomuch that when I was returned with a great Prey, the Rebels sent from Mullingar to offer themselves under Contribution. In my Way to Westmeath, Major Cadogan with a Party of Foot took in a strong House, that before the Rebellion belonged to himself, with a Nest of fifteen or sixteen Notorious Rebels. Other Services were done that Journey, which, in regard they met with no Opposition, I forbear to particularize."

"The remainder of that Winter, I often fell into the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan, always with Success, to the Destruction of many of the Rebels, and the gaining of considerable Preys. For the Want we suffer'd, and the Necessity of our Condition, required us to run many Hazards thereby to gain a Subsistence."

"In the spring, Colonel Monck drew a Party out of the North, Marched through the Rebel Quarters, drove all before him; and by Agreement, I fell in on the other Side, compassed a Part of the County of Cavan, went through the wasted Town of Cavan, passed by Ballyhays, and other Places, and met Colonel Monck on the Borders, between the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan. Between us we took a great Prey from the Rebels, distressed them in all Places where they made Opposition, which was not con-

siderable; insomuch that, though they lost much Cattle, few were slain in the defence of them. I afterwards made other Roads to the same Purpose, and ever with happy Returns."

"In July, Colonel Jones sent me two Culverins with a Party of Foot from Dublin, to strengthen those I could conveniently draw from Drogheda and the Garrisons about me, that I might be enabled to go before Ballyhoe and other Holds and Castles of the Rebels, which much annoyed our Frontiers; and Colonel Monck drew forth a Party out of Dundalk, and sat down on the other side of Ballyhoe, in the County of Monaghan. The next Morning after My arrival I sent forth a Party, and took in a Castle that defended a Pass on Logan Water, between Colonel Monck and Myself. The Rebels in Ballyhoe were confident of their Strength, and Comforted with the Expectation of Relief, which made them Bold and Resolute to endure the Battery, and defend the Place. But when the Breach appeared in some sort assaultable, they beat a Parley; and though we were at first resolved not to listen to them, in regard of their Obstinacy, yet at last we condescended to forbear a little, and hear their Demands; and thereupon some of the Officers and Soldiers appearing more openly than formerly, in Confidence of the Parley, the Rebels instantly gave Fire upon us. Colonel Monck and Myself standing on the Battery close together, a Bullet passed through one of the Culverin Ladles, and in the descent touched my Hat, and fell on Colonel Monck's strap of his Buff Hangers and Girdle, cut them both through, and rested in his Buff Coat, without farther Hurt; but Colonel Ponsoby was shot in the Leg, a little below the knee. Whereupon we gave present Order to fall on, as we were formerly prepared to do; and by God's Assistance took it by Assault, putting all to the Sword (for the most part)

that were found in it, which were many, in regard most of the Rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retired thither."

"This Castle taken, Colonel Monck returned to Dundalk, and I went forward to the Nabhor and Cruce's Fort, both strong Places; but upon my Advance, deserted by the Rebels, as several other Castles were, or delivered without a Stroke, to the Number of nine, whereof most were blown up, the rest garrisoned by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had Order to return, and did so accordingly about the beginning of August; at which Time there was a great Fame of the Marquis of Ormonde's landing in Munster, and several Officers that had served under him heretofore against the Rebels (upon no ground that ever could appear, but the Jealousy of the Times,) were sent Prisoners into England, others clapt in Prison in the Castle of Dublin and at Drogheda. I was informed that the like Proceeding was intended against Myself, and that I was the first in the List to be sent over into England; but having the Charge of those Forces abroad, the Time was not then seasonable. Whereupon I wrote to Colonel Jones, that I understood I was drawn into Suspicion through some malicious Representation in England; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the Service of Ireland, nor receive so bad a Recompense of My many Hazards and faithful Endeavours against the Rebels in this War, as to be made an undeserved Prisoner, I craved his License to go over into England, that if any Crime could be laid unto my Charge, I would be there ready to clear Myself, or undergo the Punishment proper for it: which Colonel Jones granted."

"And, although at my coming to London, I had Liberty from the Council of State to return to my Command, yet because the Times were full of Jealousies, and that I was not

alike grounded in all Men's Opinions (for some business of mine being debated in the House, it appeared there were many that had a prejudicate Opinion of me) I therefore reposed my arms, and forsook my Employment."

Though the forgoing narrative bears upon its face so many marks of its authenticity; yet, as it is the fashion of the day, for the more learned and, in their own conceit, the wisest portion of mankind, to pretend to doubt the genuineness of what is to be found in most historical relations, chronicles, or annals, unless their authors happen to have been Romans or Greeks, we deem it desirable, to add the following certificates, as to the *truth* of Sir Henry Tichborne's statements.

"We whose names are underwritten, who have been and continued Captains within the Town of Drogheda, during the Siege, and so Eye-witnesses of most things which have fallen out in it, having duly and diligently read over this Book, Entituled *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*: do hereby, according to the several Times of our coming thither, and according to our best Remembrance, confirm this foregoing History to be wholly *Truth*; and do Testify it to be in each particular very impartially and fully Related. As Witness our Hands this Eleventh of June, 1651.

"Seaf. Gibson. Rob. Byron. Phil. Wenman.
"Jo. Sloughter. Rich. Borrows. P. Weymes."

"The Lord Viscount Moore of Drogheda, his Confirmation of the truth of the foregoing history:—

"Howsoever, the known Integrity of the Author is a sufficient Testimony of itself, yet (having the second time read over this Book, Entituled *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*, where I have been an eye-witness of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I do hereby (according to the Attestation of the six other Captains, and in Answer to the Desire of such as have conceived it necessary) con-

firm this foregoing History to be wholly *Truth*, and, in each particular to be fully and very impartially written; (only declining throughout such passages as may concern myself.) As Witness my Hand this 22nd of June, 1651.

"Moore."

As justice ought to be done to all parties, it would, no doubt, be deemed unfair, as well as dishonest, were we, in a work of this kind—its only object being, by every possible means, to arrive at the *truth*—to withhold from the reader the following important documents, which speak for themselves, as given in an account of the "*Tryal of Connor Lord Mac-Guire*," published in Dublin, in the year 1724; and with them we shall conclude this Section of our Work.

"*A Declaration* of the *Lords, Gentry*, and *Others of Leinster* and *Munster*, of their *Intentions* towards the *English* and *Scottish Protestants, Inhabitants* within this *Kingdom*:"—

"*Whereas* we are informed, that it is generally conceived and believed by the *English* and *Scottish* Protestants, Inhabitants of this Kingdom, that we the *Lords, Gentry*, and *Others* of the said Kingdom, have taken Arms, and taken Forces, for the Extirpation and Banishing of them out of this Kingdom, (see Pope Urbanus's Bull, given in this Section, dated the 25th of May, 1643) thereby to acquire to ourselves their Goods and Estates: *We* therefore desire to be rightly understood; for *We* hereby declare, that *We* never consented, nor intended, nor neither will intend, nor condescend to any such *Acts*, but do utterly disclaim them; but that each Man known to be a moderate conformable Protestant, may (as well as the Romish Catholicks) respectively live and enjoy the Freedom of their own Religion, and peaceably and quietly possess their own Estates, so far forth as they, or any of them, shall joyn with *Us* in this Oath following:—

"I *A. B.* do in the presence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints,

and by the Contents of the Bible, Promise, Vow, Swear and Protest, to bear true Faith and Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, and the Heirs and Successors of his Body begotten, and will defend Him and Them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, against all Persons that attempt any thing against his or their Persons, Honours, Estates, and Dignities; and that I will, with the exposing of my Life, Power, and Estate, join with the said Irish, or any other, to recover his Estate, Royal Prerogatives forcibly wrested from Him by the Puritans, in the Houses of Parliament in England, and to maintain the same against them and all others, that shall directly or indirectly endeavour to Suppress or do any Act contrary to Regal Government, as also to maintain Episcopal Jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof in the Church, Powers and Privileges of Prelates, and the lawful Rights and Privileges of the Subjects: and I will do no Act or Thing, directly or indirectly, to hinder the free and publick Exercise of the Romish Catholick Religion in any His Majesty's Dominions; and that I will joyn with, and be assistant to Members of this Commonwealth for Redress to be had of the Grievances and Pressures thereof, in such Manner and Form as shall be thought fit by a lawful Parliament, and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose and bring to condign Punishment, even to loss of Life, Liberty, and Estate, of all such as either by Force, or Practice, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or Otherwise, do, or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause, or any Thing in this present Oath, Vow, or Protestation, contained; and neither for Reward, Fear, or Punishment, or any Respect whatsoever, shall relinquish this Oath and Protestation. So help me God."

"This declaration and oath was entered in the council book of Kilkenny, and this is a true copy thereof.

"Witness the Hand of *Jeremy Green*,

"Clerk of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny."

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

"By the confederate Catholicks of the Supreme Council."

"Whereas the Scotish Army in the Province of Ulster, and other their Adherents, in the said Province, and other parts of the Kingdom, have of late (as often before) taken a Traitorous Oath of Covenant against his Sacred Majesty, his Crown, and Dignity, and made an unchristian and profane *Vow* for the utter Extirpation of the Irish Nation, and total Suppression of the Catholick Roman Religion, subversion of Monarchical Government, and introduction of confused Anarchy within this Realm: And not contented

with the inhuman and unparalleled Massacres by them committed on poor Labourers, Women, Children, and many thousands of other Innocents of our Nation, without distinction of Age, Sex, or Condition, before the conclusion of the *Cessation* at Siggins Town, on the 15th of September last, notwithstanding continual Depredations, Robberies, Thefts, Burnings, and Destruction of all the Corn and Inhabitants in many Counties and Territories within the said Realm, and elsewhere by them acted before the said *Cessation:* the said traitorous Covenanters receiving their Maintenance, Support, and Orders from the Rebels now in Arms against His Majesty in England; have augmented, and do rather multiply and increase, than diminish their exorbitant Courses: And whereas the said Rebels have joined in a strict Union and Confederation to destroy the Irish Nation, *root and branch,* (as they term it) and their Ministers and Adherents, by their Directions, at Sea as well as Land, do exercise no less Cruelty: For, as oft as Shipping do meet any weaker Vessel at Sea, transporting Men from this Kingdom for His Majesty's Service in England, if *Irishmen,* though Protestants, and valiant and useful Servitors against the Confederate Catholicks in this War, the *Irish* are thrown overboard, as doth appear by the late throwing into the Sea, and drowning of an Irish Company of Foot of Colonel Willoughby's Regiment, all Protestants and Servitors as aforesaid; and many Women in their Passage from Dublin to Bristol, by one of the pretended Parliament Ships, and sundry other Examples of that kind, against the Law of War and Nations. And whereas the said *Scottish* army, all composed of Rebels and Assassinates, are now in their march in great Numbers towards the three Provinces of this Kingdom, to accomplish the Plots and Machinations aforesaid: And whereas the said Rebels in England have provided a great Navy, a considerable part

whereof doth surround the Sea-coast in this Kingdom, and are resolved the next Summer, if it rest in their power, which God defend, to land great Forces in the Province of Munster and Leinster: and the said Rebels of Scotland have the like design of landing of Forces in the parts of Ulster next unto the Province of Conaght: and whereas the Auxiliary Forces of the three Provinces, designed and raised for the necessary Defence of our Religion, King, and Nation, are now marched to the Province of Ulster, under the Command of our very good Lord the Earl of Castlehaven, General, appointed by the last General Assembly for the Expedition of Ulster, to repel the said Fury and Insolency of the said Rebels. Wherefore we hold it of absolute necessity, for the safety of the Kingdom, and His Majesty's Interest therein, that all the said other three Provinces be forthwith in Arms, as well to preserve themselves at home from the said intended Invasions, as also to be ready to assist the said Army abroad, marched into Ulster, if need require."

"We do therefore, by this publick *Act* and *Proclamation*, Order, Command, and Require all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Freeholders, and all other Persons, from the Age of eighteen years, to the age of sixty, forthwith to put themselves in Arms and Posture of Defence; and such as want Arms and Ammunition, and are able, are hereby required to provide the same forthwith, for Themselves, their Servants, and Retinue. And for the better effecting this high and important Service, we do hereby Require, Order, and Command all and every the Governors, Deputy-Governors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Head Officers of the respective Counties, Cities, and Incorporate Towns of this Kingdom, within our Quarters, viz., the Governors, Deputy-Governors, in the Counties where they are Governors, to call to assistance the High Sheriff, and two or more of

the Commissioners of the Array; and in the Counties where there is no Governor, the High Sheriff, calling to his assistance three, or more of the Commissioners, of the Array: and in the Cities, and Corporate Towns, the Mayor and other Head Officers, taking to assistance the recommended Sheriffs and Bailiff thereof, or any one or more of them, forthwith to summon all the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, and Others, able and fit to bear Arms, between the Ages aforesaid, to appear well armed upon a certain Day, and in a certain Place, within the said respective Counties and Towns respectively, and upon such appearance, to enlist the Names, Sirnames, Age, Arms, and Ammunition of every Person, who will so appear, in a Book fairly written, and the said Governor, Deputy-Governor, Mayors, High Sheriffs, and other Head Officers, taking to their assistance, as aforesaid, are hereby required and authorized to impose Fines, to the double Value of the Arms and Ammunition, upon any Person or Persons so summoned, that will make default, who ought to have according to the meaning of this our Proclamation, and of other our former Proclamations, to this Effect: and to impose the single Value of the Arms he should have, upon such as will appear, and not be armed as becometh. And we require the said Governors, and other Officers aforesaid, at their Perils to make due Return unto the General Assembly, now near at hand, or unto Us, in a fair Book fairly written, of the Number, Names, Sirnames, Arms, Ammunition, Defaults, and Fines aforesaid, at the furthest, by the sixth day of the Month of August.

"Given at Kilkenny, the 6th of July, 1644.

"Mount-Garnett, Fz. Tho. Dublin, Antrim, Netterville, Arthur Iveagh, John Cloynfact, Tho. Preston, Edmond Fitz-Morris, Rich. Bealing, Tirlogh O'Neal, Patrick Darcy, George Comins."

"Printed at Waterford, by Tho. Bourke, Printer to the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland."

SECTION VII.

"The new English Service was so edifying and instructive, and was so free from any thing objectionable, that this injunction was not at first looked upon as a grievance by the papal party. On the contrary, the Bishops complied with the alterations made in the public worship, and all Roman Catholics regularly went to the Churches in which the English Service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Elizabeth's reign."—*Irish Ecclesiastical History.*

In the foregoing Section we have brought down events nearly to the period when Oliver Cromwell went over to Ireland; but it now becomes necessary, that we should give, as briefly as possible, what is to be found, chiefly in Irish Ecclesiastical History, from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Elizabeth.—Long before Henry's time, the Popes, or Bishops of Rome, had claimed to be supreme heads or rulers of the whole Christian Church, and of any particular Branch of it;—no matter where established. They therefore wished it to be believed, that Ireland was under their jurisdiction; and they not only laid claim to spiritual power in it, but also assumed a right of disposing of its temporalities. Various circumstances, most of them highly discreditable to him, had however led Henry VIII. to a proper sense of the Pope's absurd pretensions; and finding how much they interfered with his own selfish views, rights, and kingly authority, and tended to the oppression of his subjects, he now determined to get rid of them; and with that in view, in conjunction with the English Parliament, in the years 1532 and 1533, he adopted measures to put a stop to the Pope's exactions of Fees and Taxes of various kinds; First-fruits, Tenths, Peter's-pence,

Payments for admission to bishoprics, and hundreds of other sources of wealth, which had hitherto been the means of conveying immense sums of money out of England and Ireland. These changes were, of course, loudly exclaimed against, by some of the Pope's adherents, who had the folly to insist, that the jurisdiction which had been usurped by the Popes, was founded on *the Word of God.* This quickly settled the matter; for, the question was consequently put to the bishops and clergy of England, "whether the bishop of Rome has, in the *Word of God,* any greater jurisdiction in this realm than any other foreign bishop?"—It was answered in the negative. The universities, chapters, monks, friars, &c., throughout the kingdom, declared their full concurrence in this decision:—one bishop only (Fisher) refused to unite in the general determination of the Church of England; and thus the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Pope in England was, by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, regularly and lawfully suppressed.

Ireland had been quite as much persecuted as England by the Pope's pecuniary exactions; but in the year 1240, a delegate had come over from Pope Gregory, "of famous memory," to demand, under pain of excommunication, and other ecclesiastical censures, the twentieth part of the whole land, in addition to the donations, and private gratuities for the maintenance of the war which the Pope —the would be thought representative of the *Prince of Peace* on earth—was waging against the Emperor Frederick.

Henry having succeeded in causing his supremacy to be acknowledged in the Church of England, and also to be sanctioned by Parliament, he became desirous of effecting the same important objects in Ireland; but, in this he met with difficulties from the machinations of Cromer arch-

bishop of Armagh, a zealous and influential promoter of the Pope's supremacy. Henry, however, as a vacancy had occurred in the archbishopric of Dublin, in 1534, took the opportunity to appoint to it George Browne, a man whose high character pointed him out, as well adapted to encounter the events likely to arise out of the important and trying crisis, which was evidently at hand. Having been educated at Oxford, in an Augustinian friary, he lived as one of that order for some time in London, and became so eminent among his brethren, as to be chosen provincial of their order in England. In this capacity he made himself remarkable for the peculiarity of his doctrine, in advising the people to make their supplications for aid to *Christ* alone, and not to the Virgin Mary and other saints. To the archbishopric of Dublin he was consecrated, with all the customary ceremonies and forms, by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher, (who refused to assent to Henry's supremacy) bishop of Rochester, and Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury; every thing having been done according to the Roman ritual, with the exception, that he received the pall and other insignia of his archbiscopal rank, from the legitimate authorities of the church of his own country, in place of from the bishop of Rome.—Henry had never cause to repent of the choice he had made.

On the arrival in Dublin of its new archbishop, a commission was appointed, in which he was included, to make arrangements for the suppression of the Pope's authority in Ireland, and for bringing that kingdom to a conformity, in religious worship, with England. In this the commissioners met with opposition from some of the Irish clergy; but, it was eventually got over, when the king's supremacy was confirmed in Ireland by act of Parliament, and which was done by an enactment passed in a Parliament, holden

in Dublin in the year 1537, under Lord Leonard Grey, the Lord Deputy.

Among other acts passed in this Parliament, which materially affected the state of religion, as well as the Church of Ireland, was that for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," which required that "spiritual promotion should only be given to such persons as could speak English, unless, after four proclamations, made in the next market town, such could not be had." The same Act farther enjoined, that parochial *English* schools should be established in Ireland; and that, all clergymen should be bound by oath, to "endeavour to learn and teach the *English* tongue to all and every being under his rule; and to "bid his beads" in the *English* tongue, and preach the Word of God in *English*, if he can preach."—Out of this unfortunate attempt—as we shall soon see—to suppress the Irish language, and to introduce English in its stead, that total ignorance of the genuine doctrines of the Christian religion—little of which then remained among the Irish—was completed among the people of that day, the bitter fruits of which are still the portion of by far the greater part of their descendants.

About this time, Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, and his Clergy, in pursuance of orders from Rome; and in order, if possible, to counteract what had been effected, circulated and endeavoured to enforce, what follows, among their flocks:—"I, A.B., from the present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, &c. . . . . shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, &c. &c. . . . . I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force, or to be practised, or obeyed by myself or any other son of the Mother Church of Rome. I do further

declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for time to come, any thing ecclesiastical or civil above the authority, above the Mother Church, or that do or shall obey for the time to come, any of her the Mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangelists, help me, &c.—It is unnecessary to comment upon a document like this; but, in itself, it distinctly shews the extremity to which the bishop of Rome, and his remaining satellites, in Ireland had been reduced by the first effects of the foretold Reformation.

In his endeavours to establish the King's supremacy in Ireland, Archbishop Browne had met with the co-operation of but few of the Irish bishops, the number of whom who were favourable to reformation being very small; but he himself was most diligent and incessant in his labours; on all occasions, preaching and reasoning against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the worship of images, and the error of trusting in saints in place of Christ, the one and only Mediator between God and man. The mass was still, however, used in Latin, but the Archbishop transmitted to all his clergy a form of prayer in English, called the "Form of Beeds," which they were to teach the people to use. He also did every thing in his power to induce the clergy to preach the pure *Word of God* in English to the people, a language of which the lower classes knew little or nothing.

In the year 1538, Archbishop Browne, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor and others, visited the counties of Carlow, Waterford, and Tipperary, where he did his utmost to enforce the King's supremacy, at the same time

preaching and setting forth the *Word of God.* Vast numbers attended his preaching, from which very important results ensued; for, in a letter written soon after to the English Government, is to be found the following statement:—"At Clonmel was with us two archbishops and eight bishops, in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the King's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience took the oath mentioned in the Acts of Parliament, both touching the King's succession and supremacy before me the King's Chancellor; and divers others there present did the like."—Among the signatures to the letter is that of the Archbishop himself.

But notwithstanding all that had been accomplished, under the guidance of an Allwise and Over-ruling Providence, who often makes use of unworthy instruments, Henry VIII. was still a bigotted Romanist, and would probably never have sanctioned the changes or reformation which afterwards took place in religion, under his children Edward and Elizabeth. He besides, on several occasions, did serious injury to the Irish church; and when Primate Cromer died in 1543, he appointed, as his successor, Dowdall, a man strongly attached to the interests of the Roman Pontiff, and opposed to the Reformation then in rapid progress in Ireland. Henry also effected the dissolution of numbers of monasteries there; but, instead of appropriating their revenues to the education and religious improvement of the people, or to charitable purposes, he made use of them for his own gratifications, or in enriching his favourites. Yet, many of Henry's advisers and agents were better men than himself; and, through their influence and instrumentality, much good was effected during his reign, particularly by Archbishop Browne, Bishop Staples of Meath, and the

few other bishops and clergy who were really desirous of reformation. Much also had already been done towards correcting abuses, and preparing the way for farther improvements. But it ought here to be observed that, up to this time, there was no open schism in the Church of Ireland—there did not then exist two separate bodies of Christians, such as there are now-a-days, standing in open hostility to each other. Archbishop Browne and the promoters of the Reformation, and Primate Cromer, and Dowdall, who resisted its progress, and did their utmost to maintain the former state of things, were members of the same Church, only differing widely in their sentiments and views of Christian doctrine, and in their ideas of what was best for the Church to which *they all still belonged*—the men who now contended for the King's supremacy and reformation in religion, and those who strove to maintain the Pope's supremacy and usurped jurisdiction, were Members and Prelates of the Branch of Christ's Universal or Catholic Church, established, as we have every reason to believe, in Ireland, by St. Patrick, and which was so wisely and carefully superintended, for many years, by St. Columba. With this ancient Primitive Church, the Pope, as we have seen, just before the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., had, in an evil hour, been allowed to interfere; but it was not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the Pope found it necessary to have recourse to the desperate expedient of forming a *new*, a *second church* in Ireland, the Heads of the old one having altogether deserted him, and discarded, on mature deliberation, his pretended authority over them. For it ought never to be forgotten, "that the ancient British Church, by whomsoever planted, was," as Blackstone states,* "a stranger to the Bishop of Rome, and his pretended authority; but the Pagan Saxon invaders

* Blackstone's Commentaries, b. 4., c. 8.

having driven the professors of Christianity to the remotest corners of our island, their own conversion was afterwards effected by Augustin the Monk, and other missionaries from the court of Rome. This necessarily introduced some few of the papal corruptions in point of faith and doctrine, but we read of no civil authority claimed by the Pope in these kingdoms, till the end of the Norman conquest." These and other historical facts, which could easily be adduced, are unfortunately unknown to people in general; some of whom allow, that in certain countries there existed inconsiderable communities, which declared against all connection with the Romish Church from early time; but do still assert, that papal Christianity was the most ancient form of the Christian religion in England; and ignorantly add, that there was no Protestantism among our ancestors before the sixteenth century. Thus many, and some of them, wonderful to think! learned men, are embracing popery and other delusions, under the impression that the Branch of the Church of Christ established in England, dissented from Romanism; on the contrary, our ancestors, at the appointed time, only cleansed themselves from its impurities.

Much as we feel desirous of relating at large what occurred during the reign of Edward VI., as regards the further progress of reformation in Ireland, we must refrain from doing so, as it would extend our researches far beyond what was originally intended; and, we shall only observe, that in Edward we find a true and conscientious reformer, and one sincerely zealous for the honour of God and the advancement of pure religion. But his youthful piety was not permitted long to adorn the throne; for God, whom he served and loved, was pleased, in his inscrutable dealings with men, at an early stage of his mortal career, to transfer him from an earthly to an heavenly kingdom; but the most important acts of his reign, as far as the

Church of Ireland was concerned were these:—the establishment of the King's supremacy, displayed particularly in his appointment of bishops, irrespectively of the Pope's authority; the advancement of the work of reformation in the Church, by selecting suitable persons for the episcopal office; and the introduction of the English Liturgy into the churches of Ireland; which latter arrangement at once evinced the progress already made in the work of reforming religion, and the principles on which that reform was conducted; and at the same time tended to confirm the improvements made, by recommending them thus to the judgment of all well-disposed, sensible, and pious Christians, who could read and understand English, but unfortunately, the great mass of the lower orders could do neither.

On the death of Edward, his sister Mary came to the throne, and it is unnecessary for us to state how or by what means, the work of reformation was obstructed and retarded during her reign; but in Ireland, by the great mercy of God, the effects of her bigotry and cruelty, were not altogether so disastrous and bloody as in England; for although provision was made in the instructions she gave her Viceroy in Ireland, and which were sustained by parliamentary enactments, for the persecution, imprisonment, and burning of heretics there, yet they were not made the objects of public and general persecution, to the extent to which they were in England. A plan for this, was however, adopted in the latter part of her reign, but was singularly and providentially frustrated in the following extraordinary way. The Commission for "punishing the Protestants in Ireland" was, as we find it recorded, entrusted by Queen Mary to Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, to be conveyed to Dublin. On his arrival at Chester, he stopped at an inn there, where he was soon waited on by the mayor of that city, a zealous Romanist, who came to pay his respects,

and to testify his affection and devotion to the Government. In conversing with the mayor, Dr. Cole could not refrain from communicating to him, in the overflowing of his zeal, the important business with which he was entrusted; and taking out of his cloak-bag a leather box, "Here," said he, "is a Commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland;" thus designating the Protestants. The landlady being friendly to the Protestant religion, and having a brother, named John Edmonds, who professed the same creed, then residing in Dublin, she was greatly alarmed by what the doctor had said; therefore, watching her opportunity, whilst the worthy mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor most politely seeing him down stairs, she opened the box, and took out the Commission, putting in its place a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost, wrapped up in a sheet of paper. The doctor returning to his chamber, and not suspecting the trick that had been played him, put up his box as before, and the next day sailed for Dublin, where he arrived on the 7th of October, 1558. He repaired immediately to the Castle, and presented the box to the Lord-Lieutenant in full Council, who commanded the secretary to read Her Majesty's Commission; but, when the box was opened, it was found to contain nothing but a *pack of cards*, to the utter astonishment, not only of the Lord Deputy and Council, but also of Dr. Cole himself, who assured them solemnly, that *he had a Commission, but could not tell what had become of it.* Then the Lord Deputy answered, "Let us have another Commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean time." The doctor, much confounded went his way, and returning to England, obtained another Commission; but while he waited for the wind at the water's side, news came to him, that Queen Mary was dead; and thus God preserved, in this extraordinary manner, the Protestants of Ireland.

It is said, that Queen Elizabeth was so delighted upon hearing the story afterwards from the Lord-Lieutenant, that she sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, and settled on her a pension of forty pounds a year for life, for saving Her Majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland.

The death of Mary having providentially put an end to her short reign of not quite five years and a half, as well as to her cruelties, her sister Elizabeth ascended the throne, on the 17th of November, 1558. One of the first measures of importance, adopted by the government she so judiciously, and for the good of her kingdom in general, formed, with reference to Ireland, was the restoration of the Church Service in English—she and her advisers vainly hoping to be thus able to supplant, or to do away with the use of the Irish language—and, in consequence, an edition of the "Book of Common Prayer" was published in Dublin in the year 1561. On the death, as already stated, of Edward, the English Liturgy ceased to be read publicly in the Churches, nor was its use resumed there until some months after Elizabeth's accession. It was a part, however, of her instructions to her Viceroy, the Earl of Sussex, on his going to Ireland in 1559, that he should "set up the worship of God as it is in England;" an injunction which, in spite of all the opposition and bigotry of the Romish party, he faithfully obeyed.

We find in that valuable work, entitled "A Primer of the Church History of Ireland," that the restoration of the reformed worship was highly displeasing to the Romanists, who were prepared to go any lengths, or have recourse to any expedients, rather than relinquish the use of the Latin mass. The historian *Strype*, gives in the life of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, the following account of an attempt to throw discredit upon the English Service; and, if possible, to prevent its introduction into the Irish

Churches. According to the Queen's instructions, "the Litany was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin. This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealots, reckoning aright that the use of the mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something, therefore, was to be done, now or never, to keep alive the reputation of the old superstition; and a *miracle* was to be shewn in the said church the next Sunday, when the Lord Lieutenant, the Archbishop, and the rest of the Privy Council were there at service;"—how admirably all this portrays the degraded state of religious feeling, and its injurious influence upon society at the period in Ireland!

"There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while Service was saying before this great Assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first; therefore some who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see, how our Saviour's image sweat blood! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral, told the people the cause; namely, 'that he could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the church.' The confusion hereupon was so great, that the Assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts; and particularly one of the Aldermen, and Mayor of the City, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been present at the English Service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the Privy Council hastened out of the choir, fearing some harm."

"But the archbishop of Dublin, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat, observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge, one Leigh, some time a monk of this cathedral, had soaked in a bowl of blood; and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swollen and heavy with blood, over the image's head within the crown; and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and shewed to those *worshippers;* and some of them cursed Father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others that had been contrivers with him."

"The archbishop, the next Sunday, preached in the same church, before the Lord Lieutenant and the Council, upon 2 Thess. ii. 11—'*God shall send them strong delusions, that they may believe a lie:*' exposing the cheats, who openly stood there with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and then banished the realm. This converted above one hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear mass more."

"And further, upon the 10th of September, 1559, the Archbishop caused this image to be broken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that See, after it had been pulled down once before by George Browne, the former Archbishop, in King Edward's time."

Archbishop Curwen, by letter, acquainted Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, with these extraordinary and disgraceful proceedings in Dublin; and the latter took an early opportunity of making them known to Elizabeth; as at the time, it was a point in dispute among the clergy,

whether images should be allowed to remain in the churches or not; and the queen was indifferent about the matter, until this circumstance was brought to her notice, in conjunction with many texts of Scripture; which at once determined Her Majesty to have all images removed.

In a parliament held in Dublin, under the Lord Deputy Sussex, in January, 1560, two very important statutes were enacted, affecting the state of religion in Ireland. The first of these established the Queen's supremacy, and abolished for ever all manner of foreign power, jurisdiction, or authority within the realm: it also required that the oath of supremacy should be taken by ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers, under penalty of forfeiture of office and promotion during life. The second was the Act of Uniformity, which enjoined that all ministers should use the English Liturgy as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; and that all persons not having reasonable excuse, should resort to their parish churches on all Sundays and holidays, on pain of ecclesiastical censures, and a fine of twelve-pence, to be levied by the churchwardens for the use of the poor. The new English Service was so edifying and instructive, and was so free from any thing objectionable that this injunction was not at first looked upon as a grievance by the papal party. On the contrary, the bishops complied with the alterations made in the public worship, *and all Roman Catholics regularly went to the churches in which the English Service was used, during a great part, if not the whole of Elizabeth's reign.*

Among the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, there was, unfortunately, introduced one of a most mischievous tendency. By the last clause it was enacted, "That in every Church or place where the common Minister or Priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common Minister or Priest to say and use the Mattins, Even-song, celebration of the

Sacraments, and all their common and open prayer in the Latin tongue." Thus, the Irish, in general, were altogether prevented from hearing the *Word of God*, as contained in the Service of the Church of Ireland, in their own language —a language they loved; and thus, also, as they understood neither *Latin* nor *English*, it was unwisely put in the power of designing men to perpetuate ignorance and superstition, and to continue to exercise that undue influence over the minds of a strongly deluded people, which they have continued to exert, even unto the present day.

"At length, however, Queen Elizabeth, or her best advisers, seem either to have despaired of success in this manner, or to have seen its mischievous tendency; for, in the year 1571, the Queen provided, at her own expense, a printing-press with a fount of *Irish types*, "in hope that, God in mercy, would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue." These Irish types were immediately sent over to Mr. Nicholas Walsh, chancellor, and Mr. John Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin. The latter commenced by composing a catechism in Irish, which, it is said, was the first book printed in Ireland in that character. About the same period, chancellor Walsh, who was afterwards bishop of Ossory, began the translation of the New Testament; the work was, however, interrupted by his death; but was afterwards completed by William Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, and published in the year 1602. The Book of Common Prayer was also translated into Irish, and printed at the expense of this Archbishop, in 1608-9. For the translation of the Old Testament, Ireland is indebted to the Christian zeal of the excellent and venerable Bishop Bedell, an Englishman, who had not resided in Ireland, until he was made Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1627, and who at the advanced age of fifty-seven, acquired the knowledge of the Irish language, and lived to complete

the superintendence of the translation into it of the books of the Old Testament. He died in 1641, the year after that in which he had finished that important work; his translation of the Scriptures was not however published until 1665, when it was printed with Irish types provided by the bounty of the Honourable Robert Boyle; the former types which had been used for the printing of the New Testament and other books having been obtained by the Jesuits, and by them carried to Douay, for the express purpose of promoting their own views in Ireland, through the medium of the Irish language."

It is shewn in Irish Church history, that the prelates, (that is, the persons who were the bishops of the Church of Ireland during the prevalence of Romanism in that country,) at the period of the Reformation, did not think it unlawful, or unsafe to transmit their episcopal office to Protestant successors, or to bequeath the government or superintendence of the Church, which had been entrusted to them, to persons, who like the ancient bishops and saints of Ireland, considered themselves totally independent of the bishops of Rome, and at full liberty to act in opposition to their authority, where it enjoined or sanctioned what they considered contrary to the *Word of God.*

The following observations are by a thorough *High-churchman*, who, at first, in endeavouring to induce people to revert to what was, with a view to satisfy all parties, agreed to at the time of the Reformation, was himself led farther on towards popery, than he had, we trust, calculated upon: at all events, he has been the chief of those who, by their illusive imaginings, have done so much to unsettle men's minds; and yet, perhaps, usefully, cause them to think seriously of religious matters, and more highly appreciate the necessary forms established by the Reformers. However that may be, he has lately appeared before the world, as the champion of the Reformation; pretending that his

conduct and opinions have been strictly regulated by our great Reformers, and glorying in that middle course which runs between the Puritan and the Roman Catholic. But if he be sincere, he should, assuredly, in these perilous times, when to draw near to Rome, is only to enhance her power, and increase her presumption, take other means to prove his uprightness ;—allow us therefore to ask, why he has lately advertised a cheap tract with this title—"*In the sacrament there is a true sacrifice?*"—was not this dogma of a *real sacrifice,* the great bone of contention between the Roman hierarchy and the Church of England at the Reformation ? —If a *real sacrifice* be once admitted, a *real presence* must follow, and a change of the elements too. In fact, this is rank *Romanism ;* and the consequences have been a kind of heresy, or rather schism in the Church of England ; the results of which have been that, many weak-minded, infatuated persons have been induced to desert it, and to enter that of Rome, loaded with all its sinful inventions and corruptions ; and also alarmingly to swell the ranks of *Dissent.* We still hope, however, that this, under Divine Providence, will lead to the restoration of the Branch of the Church of Christ in England to a state of spiritual efficiency, in a great increase of the episcopate, in a manner commensurate with the increase of the population—this has already been in some measure urged forward, unintentionally, by the strange doings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; too many of whom, though bishops, have had an eye to this world's goods, rather than to the education and spiritual instruction of the multitude :—may we venture to ask, how one Bishop can possibly superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of or govern such a diocese as that of London ?—does the amount of Bishops' incomes and their being in Parliament increase their efficiency as Christian Bishops ?—but the people of England hearing every day of means being wanting to allow *New Bishops suitable incomes,*

and to carry out a *National System of education*, they have begun to inquire what has become of the vast domains and means which belonged to the Church at the period of the Reformation; and if they were taken from the monasteries, &c., which daily fed so many of the poor, and educated individuls, what has become of such vast means, and why should Great Britain and Ireland be now made liable to additional taxation for such purposes?—these are dangerous ideas to get abroad; but they have been called forth by the doings alluded to. But to proceed.

It has been proved, that "ordination in the British Church was derived from St. Paul, and descended in the British Church in direct succession to the beginning of the twelfth century, when Barnard, a Norman, was consecrated bishop of St. David's (the Metropolitan See of the ancient British Church) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1115. The Papal Saxon Church derived ordination from Rome, and the ordination of the Roman bishops was also derived from St. Paul, who founded the Church of Rome, (see Romans, chapters 1, 2.) By the forced submission of the British bishops and their ancient Church in 1115 to the See of Canterbury, the two Churches, British and Saxon, were united, and have continued so to the present day, under the title of the Church of England. But these united Churches threw off altogether the papal yoke, in the year 1530, or at the time of the Reformation, having been under that oppression for a period of 415 years. They then returned to the apostolic doctrine, purity, and discipline, of the ancient British Church, founded by St. Paul, or by one of the Apostles, or some person apostolically commissioned, A.D. 58 or 59; therefore, the ancient British Church is *one* or *two* years older than that of Rome, founded by Paul, A.D. 60. Romanists, as well as members of the Church of England, are generally ignorant of these facts. But Dr. Hook, the High-churchman we

alluded to, says in his celebrated sermon, entitled, "Hear the Church."—

"The present Church of England is the old Catholic Church of England, reformed, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, of certain superstitious errors; it is the same Church which came down from our *British* and *Saxon* ancestors, and, as such, it possesses its original endowments, which were never, as ignorant persons foolishly suppose, taken from one Church and given to another. The Church remained the same *after* it was reformed as it was *before*, just as a man remains the same man after he has washed his face as he was before; just as Naaman, the leper, remained the same Naaman after he was cured of his leprosy, as he was before. And so regularly, so canonically, was the Reformation conducted, that even those who thought no reformation necessary, still remained for a *time* in the Church; they did not consider what was done (though they did not approve of it) sufficient to drive them into a schism. It was not 'till the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, that listening to the exhortations of the Pope, they quitted the Church, and formed a *new sect*, from which the present Romish *Dissenters have descended*, and in which were retained all those errors in opinion and practice, all that rubbish, which the Catholic Church in England had at the Reformation corrected and swept away. Let it always be remembered, that the English *Romanists separated from us*, not we *from them*; we did not go out from them, but they from us. The slightest acquaintance with that neglected branch of learning, *Ecclesiastical* History, will convince us of this. They left the Church of England, to which they originally belonged, because they thought the Bishops had reformed *too much*, had become too Protestant; just as the Protestant Dissenters left us, because they thought we had not reformed *enough*; that we were, as they still style us, too popish. The one party

left us because they wanted *no reform*, the other because, instead of reformation, they wished for a revolution—the Reformers of the Church of England carefully preserving the middle path."

"The Church of England, then, that Church to which we belong, is the *old Catholic* Church which was originally planted in this country. But the founders of the Church of England (remember, I do not mean the Reformers, for nothing but ignorance the most gross, will speak of them as our founders—ignorance which *concedes to the Papists* an argument of very great importance)—the founders, or planters, of the Church of England, both Britons and Saxons, were bishops ordained by other bishops, precisely as is the case at the present time; the catalogue has been carefully and providentially preserved from the beginning; and the bishops who ordained them had been ordained by other bishops, and so back to the *Apostles*, who ordained the first bishops, being themselves ordained by Christ. This is what is called the doctrine of *apostolic succession*; which is a doctrine of considerable importance,"—that it is so, who can doubt?—but the question which every one should ask himself is,—do I belong to a Branch of the Church of Christ in which that necessary apostolic succession has been maintained, or have I been led astray, by the vain imaginings of always erring men, into the dangerous and bewildering paths of *Dissent?*

But we must once more entreat the attention of all Dissenters to what we have already alluded to, as recorded in the Epistle of Jude, as to those who shall, under the Gospel, as under the Law, perish in the gainsaying of Korah. We are not ignorant that some cavillers have ventured to assert, that apostolical succession was lost, or not properly kept up, in the Church of England; but what can they say as to this, after what we have just stated, on

the authority of authentic documents, regarding this important apostolic succession in the Church of Ireland?—We mean the Protestant Established Church of Ireland—The Scriptures are intended to be our rule or guide in all things pertaining to Christianity; and they have been pronounced by unerring wisdom *sufficient* for such a purpose. Our Saviour declared that he came into the world not to destroy, but to fulfil the *Law*, which he had set forth in the Old Testament; and in the New Testament, written by men inspired by his Holy Spirit, he teaches us how, under a new dispensation, we ought to understand and obey that Law, as well as the use we are to make of the—if we may so speak—explanatory instructions and injunctions of the inspired prophets, evangelists, &c., and which Law is declared to be holy, just, and good: it leads us to Christ, by convincing us of sin: for by the Law is the knowledge of sin. It is owing to men's ignorance of this law that they think so well of themselves. Did they know that it ranks all omissions of duty in the number of sins; and that it extends to the state of the heart, as well as of the life; and to our motives and principles as well as our actions; self-abased and despairing, they would be constrained to cry out, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Yet men will not believe, or be satisfied with this; but must set about inventing something of their own; as if the work of an omniscient, all-perfect Being required their vain additions or explanations to make it complete. The true Church of Christ—the holy Catholic or universal Church, can, through the means of these inspired writings, be as easily known as a tree by its fruit; let us all, therefore, "*search*," as we are commanded to do, "*the Scriptures*," in order to ascertain whether we belong or not to a real Branch of that holy Catholic Church, out of which, where are we to seek for salvation?—if we are not in safety

in this *ark*, or "*city of refuge*," prepared by Christ for us, we must surely stand, in his presence, among those who have joined in the rebellion or gainsaying of Korah.

Dr. Hook endeavours to shew us, how wisely our Reformers made use of tradition and of the writings of the Fathers, by giving us the rules laid down for conferences held with Romish Priests and Jesuits, viz., "If they should shew any ground of scripture, and wrest it to their sense, let it be shewed by the interpretation of the old Doctors, such as were before Gregory I. For that in his time began the first claim of the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, which shortly after was usurped by the Bishop of Rome, the first founder of the Papacy and supremacy of that see, by the authority of Phocas, the traitor and murderer of his lord."

"And as for the testimony of the latter Doctors, if they bring any, let them refuse them; for that the most part of the writers of that time, and after, yielded to the authority of the Emperor and the Bishop of Rome."

"If they can shew no Doctor that agreed with them in their said opinion before that time, then to conclude that they have no succession in that doctrine from the time of the Apostles, and above four hundred years after (when doctrine and religion were more pure). For that they can shew no predecessor whom they might succeed in the same. *Quod primum verum. Tertull.*"

"If they allege any Doctor of that antiquity, then to view the place, and to seek the true meaning *ex precedentibus et consequentibus;* or of other places out of the same Doctor. And to oppose other Doctors likewise writing of the matter, in case the sentence of the said old Doctor shall seem to make against us." Stripe's Whitgift, vol. 1, p. 197.

Dr. Hook proceeds to say, "Well, indeed, would it be

for the cause of truth, if the self-appointed disputants in favour of the Reformation, in their challenges to the Papists, would be guided by these rules. The so-called "Reformation Society" would then be less injurious to the cause of the Reformation than it now is, and the Papists, with the worst cause, would less frequently come off triumphant." But it may, notwithstanding all Dr. Hook says in favour of tradition, be thought by many judicious persons, much wiser not to admit what are only the views or testimony of fallible man, to be, in any case, a proof of the correctness of points of doctrine or faith; and it may also strike such men, it would be much more prudent, that holy scripture should continue to be, as Protestants in general believe it was at the time of the Reformation, the only admitted test of the truth. The Reformers had many difficulties, doubts, and prejudices to contend with in their day, and had both to write and act accordingly, and so as not to alarm the timid or those of tender conscience; but no sufficient reason now exists for resorting to traditions of any kind; for thus the Jesuits and Puseyites would be furnished with arguments that might weigh with weak-minded people, and which would aid the latter in their attempts to prove, that old and long exploded errors are now to be looked upon as newly discovered religious truths, which escaped the notice of the Reformers of the Church of England.

In Queen Mary's reign, Cranmer offered to justify the English Communion Service, both from the authority of Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church. What, indeed, was his defence of our Communion service? What his objection to the Mass? Of the first he asserted, "it is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did observe, and commanded to be observed, and which the Apostles and *primitive Church* used many years; whereas the Mass, in many things, hath not only no foundation of Christ's Apostles, or the *primitive Church*, but

is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it."

We shall not even pretend to understand Dr. Hook, when he speaks of the Lord's Supper at pages 23, 24, and 25 of his sermon, preached before the Bishop of Ripon and the assembled Clergy. All we can say is, that if we are not to consider the expressions he brings forward, to be used by the Reformers in a figurative or metaphorical light, we have been sadly deceiving ourselves as to what we took to be the pure and scriptural doctrines of the Church of England; for if such are the notions of some of our Bishops and Clergy, it is the less surprising, that many pious and well meaning men should have felt justified in their secession from it, and that we should not look upon it as extraordinary that Puseyite opinions should be gaining ground; and well may Dr. Hook, who entertains them, in speaking of episcopal consecration and ordination, say, "a more complete answer to the question,—Who are they that have authority in the congregation?—could not be given by a Church which reverences scripture *and the ancient authors*; and hence it is, that while a Minister of the Roman Church officiates among us, upon the renunciation of his errors, without a further ordination, a converted Presbyterian minister is unable to do so." This is indeed "High Church,"—but we leave the Clergy of the Kirk of Scotland to settle this point with the learned Doctor: who, we conclude, attaches no importance to a conversation which took place between Dr. Gilly, author of Researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses, and Peyrani, Moderator of that Branch of the Church of Christ. —"Upon my inquiring," says Dr. Gilly, "whether there had not been formerly Bishops in the Vaudois Church, properly so called, he answered, 'yes; and I should now be styled Bishop, for my office is *virtually Episcopal*,'" &c. &c. But what says Eusebius, lib. v. c. 23, 23;—yet Dr.

Hook may perhaps, not acknowledge him to be a good authority,—"However inferior the title of Moderator may now be to that of Bishop, it was anciently considered of higher consequence and authority. When a Synod or Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons was assembled together to regulate Ecclesiastical matters, a Moderator or Prolocutor was elected in the person of one of the senior, or most respected Bishops, to preside over this Council. Cyprian was Moderator of the Council of Carthage; Palmas, Bishop of Amastres, was Moderator of a Synod of Pontus; Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, was Moderator of a Synod of Asia Minor; and Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea; and Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, presided at a Synod in Palestine, under the same name." —We trust that the Ministers of the Kirk have more than this to go upon.

It is well known that when the Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland assemble, in what may be called a Synod, a Moderator presides in it. But how absurd it is, and how contrary to what is prescribed in Scripture, particularly in St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, and to Timothy, to suppose that the Ministers therein assembled, have a right to consider themselves, one and all, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons!—This, to say the least of it, is a strange mode of interpreting what are so clearly given as rules for the guidance of the Clergy of the Catholic or Universal Church of Christ, of which, no doubt, Dr. Hook will deny —(and we leave it to the Ministers of the Kirk to decide whether he is right or not)—that the Kirk of Scotland is a *Branch*, from its not having to govern it *Scripturally consecrated Bishops*, whose distinct office it is, to rule the other clergy—that is to say, those whom they have *Scripturally ordained Priests and Deacons*. When we considered that a vast portion of the population of Ireland are Presbyterians and Dissenters from the Church of

Ireland, we deemed it requisite to dwell more upon these matters than we originally intended.—But to proceed.

We have, however, already seen that, during the reign of Elizabeth, the Reformation advanced in an orderly manner in the Church, and circumstances seemed to promise fairly for the general establishment of the Reformed Religion among the people of Ireland. But it was not to be supposed that, the Bishop of Rome would submit quietly and without a struggle, to lose all his influence and authority over the Irish. But the fact is, that whilst, we may say, all the bishops embraced and supported the Reformation, some of the more ambitious of the clergy refrained from following their example, and shewed their attachment for the Romish religion, by refusing, upon various pretences, to concur in the decisions of their Church. Thus several Irish priests were induced to join the Bishop of Rome in his endeavours to disturb the peace of the country, as well as the establishment of the Reformed faith. Then it was, that the Pope inundated Ireland with men sent purposely to oppose the measures of the, by him, *excommunicated Sovereign*, the laws of the realm, and the *real old Church of Ireland;* and who arrogated to themselves the jurisdiction, as well as the usurped titles, of the lawful prelates; and these intruders, aided and counselled by hosts of Jesuits, Friars, Legates, Vicars-apostolic, and other agents, though they did not gain the object aimed at, that of utterly subverting the Church of Ireland, yet they were, as we have already seen, but too successful in exciting rebellion and bloodshed; so that at length a permanent schism was effected in the Irish Church, and a new ecclesiastical fabric was raised, whose foundations were laid in violence, treason, and the grossest delusions. It is not therfore surprising, that many of the people from fear; many from hatred of the English; many from attachment to old superstitions, should have connected themselves with

the newly formed *sect of Romish dissenters.*—After this, who will venture to talk of Church property being taken from the Roman Catholic, and given to the Protestant Church?

But before we advance farther, we should observe, that when the Irish Bishops, we may say, in a body, agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of Queen Elizabeth, and to reject the usurped authority of the Pope, it was then that more violent and wholesale measures were resorted to by him. The Queen was declared a heretic, her subjects absolved from the oath of allegiance, and her dominions bestowed on the King of Spain. Richard Creagh, who had distinguished himself by exhorting the people to forsake the obedience of their bishops, and the service of the Church, was ordained by the Pope to the archbishopric of Armagh, and other persons were, by similar authority, afterwards appointed to some of the sees in Ireland. Such was the original nucleus of the present Romish Church in Ireland—such its first bishops.

We have before little more than spoken of King James I. as Elizabeth's successor. But we find that this monarch did his best, though not always judiciously, to arrest the progress of the alarming schism which the Papists had caused, and to restrain its influences by severe enactments. Amongst these was his *Test of allegiance.* There is yet extant a petition to Paul V., signed by eleven priests, who were under sentence of death in Newgate, for refusing to take this test or oath. It is stated by Dr. O'Connor, Columbanus, a Roman Catholic priest; that "in their petition, they entreat of his Holiness *by all that is sacred*, to attend to their horrible situation; and they beg of him to point out to them clearly, in what the oath, for which they were condemned to die, is repugnant to Catholic faith. But yet influenced by courtly maxims, they declare their belief in his unlimited power, and they conclude with a solemn protest of blind submission to all his decrees,

with an obedience as implicit as if Rome were another Mecca, or as if the Vatican were the seraglio of a Mahomet."

"My heart," says Dr. O'Connor, "swells with mingled emotions of pity on one side, and horror and indignation on the other, when I contemplate the dilemma in which those wretched men were thus placed, by the pride and ambition of their superiors! Before them was Tyburn, behind them stood armed with fulminating thunders and terrors, that grim disgrace, in the opinion of their flocks, by which they would be overwhelmed as apostates, if they opposed the mandates of Rome! On one side conscience stared them in the face, with St. Paul—on another, a vicar-apostolic menaced refusal of the Sacrament, even on the eve of death! This covered them with ignominy as apostates—that, though frightful to humanity, was yet attended with posthumous renown." It would occupy too much of our space were we to give the whole of this extraordinary statement, which concludes as follows:—"Day after day, and no answer was received, but that which might be collected from the sullen silence of imperturbable obstinacy, and unbending domination! Both Sixtus and Pius V. had addressed their Bulls with these magnificent titles:—"*We who are placed on the supreme throne of justice*, enjoying supreme dominion over all the kings and princes, and states of the whole earth, not by human, but by divine authority," &c. And now how could it be expected that, in compliance with the petition of eleven beggarly priests of the second order, that such magnificent titles should be resigned!—"No, said the scarlet cardinal, perish the idea!—Let not one iota be yielded, else we shall lose our worldly dominion, Venient Romani et tollent nostram gentem et regnum. All the pride and pomp, and glory of the Vatican, would then be swept away from the face of the earth, and what would be the fate of the

thunders of Scarlet Cardinals and Purple Monsignores!"—Thus the English priests were allowed to die in the resistance of legitimate authority, and at the instigation of a foreign power. (See Dodd's Church History.)

Philip O'Sullivan, a Romish author, in the reign of King James, was living in exile at the court of Spain, where he published in the year 1621, what he called "A Compendium of the Church History of Ireland." In this curious work, he gives an account of the assistance afforded by foreigners, but particularly Spaniards, to the Irish for the support of popery in Ireland, and for educating the youth in seminaries established for that purpose; and also in contributing money for training them up for the different orders in their church. He also acquaints us, that many affluent Irish supported persons sent to be educated in Romanism in other countries, in order that they might return to Ireland, and make up for the losses sustained by the influence of the Reformation. And he adds that, "in Ireland likewise, there are some still attaching themselves to the religious orders; still more are receiving ordination for the sacred office. These administer the Sacraments, assist such as are firm in the faith, establish the wavering, support the falling, raise up the downcast; they expound the Holy Gospel, preach to the people, expose the artful designs of the *hereticks*. The more frequently they are ordered to quit the country, the more readily they remain in it, and even flock together to it. To avoid being observed by the English, they dress themselves in the apparel of lay persons, and represent themselves, some as merchants, or medical men, some as knights equipped with sword and dirk, others under other characters and pretences."

"But in order that there may be priests in all parts of the kingdom to attend to the cure of souls, a salutary plan has been set on foot; for the better understanding of which

we are to recollect, that in Ireland there are four archbishoprics and a large number of bishoprics; and that at the present day (A.D. 1621) they are all held by *ringleaders of heresy*, (i.e., *Protestant bishops*), and that (R.) Catholick prelates are not appointed to their titles unless in some few instances, for this reason, that without the ecclesiastical dues, it seems that such a number of bishops could not support their rank and consequence. For which reason four archbishops who have been consecrated by the Roman pontiff, are appointed priests, or clerks, or persons of religious orders, for vicars-general in the suffragan bishoprics, with the sanction of the Apostolic See. These latter again appoint others for the charge of the parish churches. And Eugene Macmagauran, the archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Carney, of Cashel, encountering great perils and immense labours, are personally feeding the sheep belonging to their archbishoprics. While Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Meleonry, of Tuam, (who for many reasons is unable to live safe from the English in Ireland,) have entrusted the care of their provinces to vicars." It appears, therefore, by O'Sullivan's account, that in the year 1621, all the Irish sees were filled by Protestants; and that there were but four bishops at that time connected with the Romish Church in Ireland; two in that country, and the other two abroad.

Much mischief was, however, done about this period in Ireland, through foreign influence; and this is even admitted by Roman Catholic writers themselves, who were zealously employed in upholding the Pope's authority. That very Peter Lombard, of whom O'Sullivan speaks, as being Primate of Ireland at the time he wrote, gives a strange account of the mischievous intercourse that was kept up between Ireland and Rome. Lombard resided for many years at Rome, where he died in 1626. He was private secretary and domestic chaplain to Pope Clement

VIII., and a maintainer of the Pope's right to temporal dominion over Ireland; and yet he complains of the extreme prevalence of foreign influence and interference, and confesses, with shame and indignation, that the clergy who flocked to Rome to obtain mitres and benefices in Ireland, were a disgrace to his country. "They are," he declares, "of the very vilest class of our people; men who obtain preferment by every species of cunning, drivelling, sycophancy, and hypocrisy. They come, carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands, over Alps and Apennines, illotis pedibus, on pretence of persecution, or of pilgrimage to Rome, from the most barbarous parts of Ireland; ignorant, clownish, vile fellows, whose manners are utterly disgusting to all who see them, from their base servility and uncouthness of garb and address. When they arrive in Rome, they do not employ themselves in learning, but pass their days in scheming amongst each other, how they may obtain bulls of presentation to livings and preferments at home; and as soon as they succeed in obtaining a title to a benefice, they run back to Ireland, commence a law-suit for possession, in virtue of the briefs obtained at Rome, and having finally succeeded, after a scandalous litigation, instead of attending the dioceses, they travel into Spain, France, and Germany, on pretence of persecution at home; and their whole study consists in soliciting pensions from those foreign courts, to enable them forsooth, to live abroad on a footing of grandeur suitable to the episcopal dignity, which they have obtained by sycophancy, intriguing, and adulation! This is extremely prejudicial to our country, and disgraceful to us in foreign parts, as well as disgusting to our own Catholic nobility at home; because those bishops are appointed without any regard to the elections or recommendations of our gentry or clergy, and against the express desire of both."—This comes from the pen of the Pope's private

secretary, and the Roman Catholic Primate of all Ireland; it gives us a melancholy view indeed of the agency that was at that period at work to distract Ireland, and which forced even a Romanist—yet a high-minded one—to express himself in such terms.

Yet Peter Lombard stands not alone; another Romanist of that age, Stanihurst, uncle to Archbishop Usher, gives a precisely similar account; and adds—"And these wearisome petitions to the Pope, are now a-days becoming so common, that at present it is actually becoming a proverbial habit with the people of Rome, whenever they meet with an Irish beggar, to accost him with this facetious little question, 'Good sir, have you come to seek for a bishopric?'"

Thus we have seen how the foundations of the present Roman Catholic community was laid in Ireland in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and her successor, James I.; as also the *doings* of the Romish priesthood in that country for many years after. In the following reign, that of Charles I., still more horrible measures were resorted to, for the purpose of utterly extirpating all who belonged to the Reformed Church of Ireland, the results of which we have already fully noticed; but, since the foundations of the *new* Romish Church in Ireland were laid, in the manner described, its intruded bishops and priests have been doing their utmost to *pass it off* as the *old Church* of that kingdom; and to its being so, no doubt, all the titular archbishops and bishops, and all the Romish priesthood, as well as the erudite heads of the College of Maynooth, and the men who, fresh from their "humanities," have profited by *their* instructions, *and who take no part in Irish politics or agitation*, are ready to vouch. But, is it not truly surprising that, in these enlightened times, not only the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but her Majesty's Ministers—we conclude in ignorance of these things—

should have been acting towards the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland and England, as if they really were *the old Churches of these countries!*

We now approach that eventful period when the Irish are to be delivered into the iron grasp of Oliver Cromwell; who, though not originally a soldier by profession, soon became one of the most able and resolute generals who, perhaps, ever commanded an army. But it ought to be observed, that even whilst the direful events of the rebellion in 1641 were progressing, and the Irish leaders taking advantage of them, after the people slaughtering in cold blood so many British and Protestants living in peace and fancied safety among them, rose up in an open and well organized rebellion;—planned, as some say, by one Roger Moore, whose object it only was, to expel the English; but shocked at the enormities committed, and finding himself unable to stem the torrent of highly excited popular fury and fanaticism, which he had helped to rouse, he, in horror at what had occurred, abandoned his country, and retired into Flanders;—but under all disadvantages and causes of weakness, arising out of a protracted civil war, the British arms, as soon as they could be wielded in the field, were completely triumphant; and how little formidable the Irish were found to be as antagonists, was fully proved by the brave, skilful, but shamefully treated Sir Henry Tichborne. It was solely owing to the distracted state of England, and the Parliament withholding supplies of all kinds from Ireland, with the view of employing them against their king, that the Irish were enabled to maintain their ground so long as they did. The Irish Government were besides rather embarrassed than aided in their plans for putting down the rebellion, by a Scotch army of stubborn Presbyterians, sent over to the north of Ireland: yet, we repeat, that though the Irish Romanists had availed themselves of a most favourable opportunity for throwing off the

English yoke; when the latter were seriously crippled by intestine broils;—when even all the revenues of Ireland were placed at the disposal of the rebel government, which enabled them to arm and amply supply their troops with all requisites when in the field,—yet how feeble and unsoldierlike were all their efforts, and how direful were the results of the war to the deluded, unfortunate people! We shall only now say, that what happened then, would most assuredly happen again, if ever the Irish are, by any means, induced to rebel.

But history, as it is usually written, is too often the history of causes, without sufficient reference to their effects. Here and there, perhaps, the historian presents us with an ill-digested chapter on the progress of society or civilization among a people, but, very rarely, the real causes which produced favourable results, or those which had thrown a nation back into barbarism, are either fairly or usefully depicted—so hard it is to divest the mind of prejudices, or to think differently from what mankind have, in general, been in the habit of thinking. What most histories are composed of, are the wars waged by, probably, a ruthless ruffian or robber, who acquired renown, and the name of a hero, in proportion as he devastated countries, or enslaved and debased the great masses of their inhabitants, who were usually looked upon as mere *materials*, created for the use of those who had usurped power over them, and which, as chiefs or magistrates, they contrived to retain under their conquerors, or any new form of government. Thus we see the necessity of a constant reference to ecclesiastical history, whenever it can be had from a pure source; as it almost entirely omits the above, and gives us, as it were, a clearer insight into the views or motives which influenced the minds of the actors, during the period of which it treats; and by this means, we are enabled to see more clearly, and to judge for ourselves, how they operated, as

well as the effects produced—in short, we are inclined to think, that mankind receive much more useful lessons through the instrumentality of ecclesiastical, than through that which we may denominate, common history.

Proceeding briefly with the fruits of our researches, we find that on the 30th of January, 1649, Charles I., was, by a brutal faction, barbarously beheaded at Whitehall. The House of Peers had been abolished by the Commons, or rather by the small body of men who chose to call themselves a Parliament, as being *useless and dangerous*. All loyalists were treated with great severity, and it was made high treason to call the Prince of Wales by any name but that of Charles Stewart. The forms of all public business were altered; and the new legislators had given to their Government the name of the Commonwealth of England. Cromwell had, meanwhile, suffered the Parliament to establish itself; yet, his great influence extended throughout the whole country. He was the secret instigator of all the measures of Parliament; and exerted a most extraordinary and complete control over the wills of all those whom he had to deal with. It is only necessary here to remark, that in the same year in which Charles I. was murdered, Cromwell went as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland; where he found every thing in a most distracted state; but his great activity and ability soon overcame all difficulties; and in a few months, by strong, but necessary measures, and, there is no doubt, great severities, he restored some degree of order; and, perhaps it is to be regretted, that he had not had time to accomplish all he intended;—but the affairs of Scotland calling for his presence there, he left his son-in-law, General Ireton, as his deputy, with instructions to carry out his views with regard to Ireland.

It is however requisite to take a cursory view of the state of Ireland just before Cromwell's arrival in it; and then to notice some of his daring and brilliant achieve-

ments there, as a General, as well as what resulted from them.

After the civil war had been carried on for some time in England, Charles I. finding his affairs rapidly declining, and that the Parliament were gaining ground upon him; in the year 1643, he directed the Marquis of Ormond to make a truce with the Irish, in order that he might have the assistance of the English troops, then in Ireland, in his operations against the Parliamentary forces. A cessation of arms, as we have already seen, was accordingly agreed upon; but the Irish soon broke the conditions of the truce, and the English having taken their departure, the former suddenly rose in arms against Ormond, and would have taken him prisoner, had he not escaped into Dublin; but being wholly unable to defend that city, his only alternatives were, either to give it up to some English troops sent over by Parliament, under Colonel Jones, or to the Irish—he preferred the former.

The Marquis of Ormond, had not been long gone over to join the king in England, when the alarming news reached the Irish, that Parliament was sending over large reinforcements. They therefore requested Charles to order back the Marquis, promising to submit to his Majesty's authority, and to obey the latter in all things as his Majesty's Lieutenant; and to assist him in expelling the Parliamentarians.

The Marquis of Ormond having accordingly returned to Ireland, he found himself under the necessity of entering into the most dishonourable conditions with the Irish, who, by the accession to their cause of Lord Inchequin, President of Munster, and of the Scots in Ulster, soon rendered themselves formidable to him. Before the arrival of the Marquis, the Pope's Nuncio, who had been sent to Ireland to promote the fearful rebellion of 1641, and had

of late conducted himself so tyrannically, that he had become intolerable even to the Irish themselves, was expelled the island: and now the royalists and the Irish being united, Ireland seemed in a fair way of being again brought under the king's authority. But Owen Roe O'Neal, the best of the Irish leaders, not approving of their purposed mode of proceeding, and joining his troops to those of the Parliament, they relieved Londonderry, then besieged by the Lord Ardes. Ormond, however, and the confederates having assembled a numerous army, nearly the whole kingdom was reduced by them to obedience, with the exception of Londonderry, held by Sir Charles Coote, and Dublin, in which Colonel Jones was necessitated to remain with an inconsiderable force, many of whom daily deserted to the enemy, who were now, under the Marquis of Ormond, besieging it.

Upon Colonel Jones representing to Parliament the dangers of his situation, and the difficulties by which he was surrounded, it was determined to provide for the relief of Ireland, with all possible expedition. For this purpose, the now appointed Lord Governor of Ireland, Cromwell, using extraordinary expedition in collecting a sufficient force at Milford Haven, raising money, and providing shipping, was soon far advanced in his preparations for his Irish expedition. In Bristol he arranged every thing respecting his artillery: and proceeding to Chester, embarked there, and at the neighbouring ports, Colonel Reynolds' horse, Colonel Venables' and Colonel Monk's regiments of foot, and sent them on before him to Dublin. Jones, now appointed Lieutenant-General of Horse, being thus reinforced, did not long remain upon the defensive; but attacking the besieging army, under Ormond, totally defeated it, with great loss in men, guns, ammunition, provisions, and money. So complete was the surprise, that Ormond, who narrowly escaped being himself taken

prisoner at Rathmines, where the battle was fought, had not time even to remove the money he had for paying his army, from Rathfarnham, where Jones most opportunely found it.

It was at Milford-Haven, that Cromwell received the account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to have heard of the loss of Dublin. He therefore immediately embarked his whole army, and on the 13th of August set sail for Ireland. On his arrival in Dublin, he was received with every possible demonstration of joy by the inhabitants, who flocked from all quarters to see a man of whom they had heard so much. At a convenient place he halted, and thus addressed them:—"That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but by his Divine Providence to restore them all to their just liberties and properties; and that all those, whose affections were real for the carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, and all their adherents and confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing the truth of peace, and restoring that bleeding nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England, and from himself, and withal receive such rewards and gratuities, as should be answerable to their merits." "This speech" —it is added—"was entertained with great applause by the people, who all cried out, that they would live and die with him."

Cromwell commenced his operations in Ireland by proceeding with an army of about ten thousand men, well supplied in all respects, against Drogheda, where Sir Arthur Aston, a brave and experienced soldier, commanded a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, "the flower of the royal army." On arriving before this—by Sir Henry Tichborne—strongly

fortified city, he at once summoned its governor to surrender; which summons was disregarded and looked upon as a mere matter of form. "Hereupon the Lord Governor ordered all things for a quick dispatch of the siege. Ayscouth's ships blocked them up by sea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red ensign displayed before the town. The besieged were not much dismayed at this, as expecting succour from the Marquis of Ormond. And they seemed to be unanimous in their resolution, rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after."

Cromwell, being apprehensive of the consequences of a protracted siege, immediately constructed a powerful battery, the guns of which soon overturned the steeple of a church, as also a tower that stood near it. The next day the battering being continued, the corner tower between the east and south walls was demolished, and two breaches effected, which some regiments instantly entered. The utmost bravery was displayed on both sides, the breaches being not more courageously assaulted than valiantly defended. Cromwell, who was meanwhile standing upon the battery, observing the opposition which his troops met with, and that they were giving way, brought up Colonel Ewer's regiment of foot, and in person bravely entered with them once more into the town. The example thus set by their general, inspired the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having carried the town, they, according to Cromwell's express commands, put all they met with to the sword; his intention being to deter other garrisons from making such opposition as he had here met with; and, in writing to the Parliament upon the subject, he uses this expression:—"That he believed this severity would save much effusion of blood." We shall not detail the horrors which resulted from these barbarous orders of Cromwell, but the author of his

life, in concluding his account of them, says, "all the officers were presently knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest thrust on ship-board for Barbadoes. The Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, here likewise met his fate, being put to the sword among the rest. And thus was this strong place taken and sacked in less than a week's time, which the rebellious Irish were three whole years in taking. This great action was so surprising, that O'Neal at the hearing of it, swore a great oath, "that if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by storm, if he should storm hell he would take it."

This fearful destruction of Drogheda, and massacre of its garrison, rendered Cromwell's name so terrible throughout all Ireland, that few places ventured to resist his arms; and the first fruits of it were the surrender of Trim and Dundalk, their garrisons not even waiting to be summoned. He did not, however, deem it requisite, at this time, to proceed farther to the northward, but returned to Dublin.

In his march to Wexford, in the month of October, two strong places, Killingkerick and the Castle of Arckloe, were abandoned by their garrisons, and fell into his hands.

Wexford not surrendering when summoned, was battered for a few days; and though its garrison, during the course of them, was reinforced by five hundred infantry, it was carried by assault; when all who were found in arms were put to the sword. Great riches were found in this town, as it was, by the Irish, considered to be a place of such strength, as not to be taken but after a long and regular siege. The reduction of it was also of great importance to Cromwell; it being a good port, conveniently situated for his receiving supplies from England. And the severity he deemed it politic to exercise there, was felt, as it had been at Drogheda—far and wide.

A severe and wet winter setting in, Cromwell's troops suffered much in consequence, and from dysentery, which

many thought and expected would have retarded his operations; but this proved not to be the case; for the difficulties which the Marquis of Ormond met with in bringing another army into the field, after his late defeat,—the former disagreements again breaking out between the Popish confederates and him, on account of that disaster,—the secret intelligence held by Cromwell in Munster, and the important affairs that called for his presence elsewhere, seemed to him more powerful motives for continuing, and bringing them to a speedy conclusion, than the severity of the winter was to interrupt his progress.

He therefore resolved to march with his army towards Ross, a strongly fortified town upon the Barrow, of which Lord Taffe was governor; and into which Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord Ardes contrived to throw a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men. But Cromwell, on coming before the town, summoned it to this effect, "that since his coming into Ireland, he ever endeavoured to avoid the effusion of blood; having been before no place, where he did not first send them such terms, as might be for their preservation: and to continue the like course, he now summoned them to deliver up the town to the Parliament of England." No answer being returned, his guns opened upon the place, when the governor becoming alarmed, soon evinced a desire to enter into terms. It was therefore agreed upon, "that the town be delivered up to the Lord-General Cromwell, and the within march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny;" which fifteen hundred of them did; but six hundred of them, being of English descent, went over to Cromwell.

In the meantime, Kingsale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon-Bridge, and the garrisons of other fortified places, voluntarily submitted to the conqueror; which events tended greatly towards the reduction not only of Munster, but of all Ireland; for Cromwell, as we have seen, having made

himself master of Ross, he caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, to enable his army to cross the river, to attack Duncannon, a strong fort, commanded by an experienced officer, Colonel Wogan. But this place was too well fortified, and provided with all things requisite to withstand even a regular siege, for him to think of attacking it; he therefore determined to march into the county of Kilkenny; where the Marquis of Ormond, being joined by Lord Inchequin, seemed inclined to risk an engagement. Ormond's army was very superior in numbers to that of Cromwell, which was much weakened by continual and hard duty, difficult and long marches, dysentery and other diseases. The Marquis, however, upon the approach of the enemy, retired without attempting anything, or striking a blow. In consequence, Enistago, a small walled town within five miles of Ross, surrendered to Colonel Abbot; and Colonel Reynolds with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, marched upon Carrick; where, having divided his force into two parts, while he amused them with the one, he entered the gate with the other, taking about a hundred prisoners without the loss of a man.

Upon the reports of these brilliant achievements reaching Cromwell, then at Ross, and where he had, from severe illness, been obliged for some time to remain, he immediately marched his army upon Waterford, with the view of besieging and gaining possession of it, before he should allow his troops to go into winter quarters. But he found the city too well prepared to allow him to have, at that time, any hopes of success, and therefore contented himself with reducing Passage-Fort, before he retired into winter quarters.

The Irish leaders upon this assembled a considerable force from Waterford and Duncannon, with the intention of retaining so important a point as Passage-Fort; but they were immediately "attacked and totally routed by

Colonel Zankey, who killed vast numbers, and took prisoners about three hundred and fifty of the Irish."

A violent fever, or, as it is called, a *plague*, now prevailed to a fearful extent in Cromwell's army; and among those who were its victims, was the brave yet prudent Lieutenant-General Jones, whose loss was universally deplored; but notwithstanding this dispiriting circumstance; the deaths of Colonel Wolf, Scout-Master-General Roe, and of many other officers and soldiers, Cromwell's vigilance and activity if possible, increased;—for he was now incessant in his visits to all the fortified places which he held in Munster and elsewhere; whilst at the same time, he superintended, personally, all matters, civil as well as military. By this means, we find, that he was able again to take the field early in February; and, omitting to notice minor occurrences, we soon find him in full march upon the strongly fortified and garrisoned town of Feathard, the suburbs of which he entered at ten at night, and immediately summoned its governor to surrender;—the trumpet, or flag of truce, was however fired upon; but being informed, tha the Lord-Lieutenant, was with the troops, he replied, "that it was not a fit time to send a summons at night." Upon this, Cromwell resolved to carry the place by storm; but, in the meantime, the governor thought fit to send commissioners to him to treat for its surrender, and which, according to the terms entered into, was done the next morning. These terms the Lord Lieutenant the more readily granted them, because he had but few infantry with him, and no guns, nor scaling ladders; and seventeen companies of the Ulster foot were stationed within five miles of Feathard.

Again passing over minor, though some of them important occurrences, from the effects they produced upon the minds of the Irish troops and people, we find Cromwell, in his usual way, threatening to carry by storm the

strongly fortified and well provided, populous town of Gowram, upon which his artillery had opened a destructive fire; when its governor, a "Kentish man," named Hammond, thought it high time to beat a parley. But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than these, "that the common soldiers should have their lives, and the officers be disposed of as should be thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which Hammond was obliged to submit by his seditious soldiers, (including the Marquis of Ormond's own regiment), he, and all the commissioned officers but one, were the next day cruelly and deliberately shot to death; and the priest, who was chaplain to the Popish soldiers of Ormond's regiment, was hanged.

Cromwell had now subdued almost all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Galway, and Kilkenny; he now, therefore, resolved to attempt the last, though its strong and well appointed garrison required more than ordinary means to reduce it. But not discouraged at this, on the 22d of March, he sent forward a small body of horse to reconnoitre, and soon after appeared before the city with his army, considerably reinforced from Dublin, Wexford, and other places which he had reduced.

Kilkenny, (literally the Church of St. Kenny, or Kenicus) contains the town of Kilkenny proper, and the Irishtown, or St. Canicés. It was of old a place of great strength, importance, and beauty; if we judge from the remains of its gates, towers, and walls, and from the striking ruins of monasteries and abbeys, which, even in their desolation, exhibit beautiful and truly exquisite specimens of taste as well as skill. Hollingshed says, that this city takes its name from St. Kanicus, or Canice, vulgarly called Kenny. The cathedral stands in a beautiful situation. The castle was built in 1195, on the site of the ancient one which was destroyed by the Irish twenty-two years previously.

Cromwell at once summoned Sir Walter Butler, the Governor, and the corporation to deliver up the city, for the use of the Parliament of England. The answer returned not being satisfactory, he made his approaches nearer to the walls; caused a battery to be constructed in the most suitable spot for annoying the besieged, and opening an entrance for his troops. In the mean time, the besieged were not idle; and wherever Cromwell directed his greatest efforts, there they did every thing in their power to oppose him; he being, however, at length fully prepared, commenced furiously battering the walls, and soon effected a breach in them. Colonel Ewer was then ordered, with a thousand men, to make an attempt upon another part of the city, called Irish-town; and to facilitate this enterprise, the soldiers were directed to attack the breach; which they accordingly did, but were repulsed with loss. To this point, however, the attention of the besieged being entirely attracted, Colonel Ewer, without any loss, got possession of Irish-town. There was, upon the other side of the river, another small town, or suburb to the city, which Cromwell deemed it necessary to get hold of, and which he did with eight companies of infantry, without opposition. These he commanded to force a passage over the bridge into the city; but they, as at the breach, were also repulsed. But these desperate attempts caused the Governor to reflect seriously upon his situation; for the garrison of Cantwell Castle, whom he had ordered to join him, in place of doing so, "had requested passes from the Lord Governor Cromwell, to go beyond the sea, and to enter into the service of foreign princes; engaging never to act against the Parliament of England; which request Cromwell granted them." What also greatly discouraged the Governor was, that there was no sufficient army in the field by which he might expect to be relieved. He was besides well aware, that the longer

he held out, the worse would be the treatment to which he and his garrison would be subjected. Under these circumstances, he thought it wisest to treat with Cromwell, who readily agreed to the following conditions:—"First, that the city and castle should be delivered up to the Lord Governor Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and public stores. Secondly, the inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their persons, goods, and estates, from the violence of the soldiers; and such as had a mind to remove, to have liberty so to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, the governor, officers, and soldiers to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, the city to pay two thousand pounds as a gratuity to his Excellency the Lord Cromwell's army."

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been the nursery of the late Rebellion, and the residence of the *Supreme Council*, reduced to the Parliament's obedience in less than a week's time, and that chiefly by the extraordinary vigilance, activity, and indefatigable exertions of Cromwell; who always bore a share in the hardships his soldiers were exposed to, and never flinched from them at any time, when his personal valour was necessary; so that he frequently laid aside the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private soldier.

We find it stated in the Life of Oliver Cromwell, that "about this time, the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Castlehaven, and the Bishop of Clogher, reflecting upon the desperate condition of their affairs, appointed a meeting in Westmeath, with the gentlemen of that county, to consider of some better way to support their cause, which was now almost ruined every where. In this meeting Ormond proposed; First, Whether they were able to raise such forces as might be sufficient to engage with Cromwell. Secondly, in case they were not able to fight, whether it were not necessary, with all the forces they could make,

to fall into the English quarters, and there to burn and destroy what they could, that they might not be able to subsist. Thirdly, If this were not feasible, then whether it were not most convenient for them all to join in some propositions of peace for the whole kingdom; or every one for himself to make his particular application." This last expedient was most approved of by some; but the chief of them being conscious of their own guilt, thought that they were not very likely to obtain good conditions, when necessity obliged them to be supplicants; and, therefore, to molest the English in their quarters, was judged to be the most advisable for them all, thereby to gain time, till they should have a fit opportunity to escape out of the kingdom;—thus were the unfortunate, deluded Irish Roman Catholics, and all others who had adhered to their cause, to be deserted by their selfish, cold-hearted leaders, and left exposed to the tender mercy of Oliver Cromwell, and his bands of fanatical barbarians, from whom, as might have been expected, they met with even more brutal and unfeeling treatment than had been experienced by their forefathers, when Tyrone's equally insensate rebellion was suppressed, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; but neither history nor experience affords, as it would seem, any lessons to the extraordinary, infatuated people of Ireland. From this time forward, Cromwell, and the other able officers, who commanded under him, in various parts of Ireland, carried all before them; and had this extraordinary man been only able to have remained in Ireland for a few months longer, he would have completely, and we may say, permanently subdued the Irish people; probably, however, not leaving a vestige of Romanism in the island.

In the year 1651,—that in which Sir Henry Tichborne wrote his account of the war in Ireland—Ireton undertook the siege of Limerick; which, as stated in the Life of Oliver

Cromwell, after a long siege, surrendered to him; but which, according to the French account of these transactions, —to which we give a preference,—had for its Governor, a loyalist, named Francis Fannin, a man of great courage and determination; who, at his own expense, had fortified it; and after a gallant resistance of four months, and not being able longer to arrest the progress of the besiegers, preferred burying himself and his garrison under the ruins of the ramparts he had himself constructed, to surrendering to an usurper. We need, therefore, not be surprised, after all that had occurred, and the obstinate resistance which Ireton's troops had there met with, that they should have exercised most unjustifiable cruelties; especially as Cromwell had considered it to be as necessary as politic, if he was to hope for permanent tranquillity in Ireland, to root out popery, which he clearly saw—and he was a shrewd observer—had been, and still was the bane of that unhappy country; and whom could he better employ for such a purpose, than the stubborn and fanatical Puritans, of whom the army was then chiefly composed, who set themselves up as competent judges of what was proper to be done in all matters of religion, as well as of Government; who were, like the generality of Dissenters from the Established Church in the present day, divided into a multitude of sects, who employed themselves in absurd religious discussions, many of them fancying that they had, what they termed, "*a call of the Spirit,*" to set up as preachers and expounders of the Scriptures; not, however, overlooking in their ferocious and unchristian fanaticism, that there were many fine estates, and profitable farms in Ireland, which assuredly ought to belong to them, as *godly and inspired men,* rather than to bloody-minded and idolatrous papists; and thus many a Mansion, and many a good broad Acre—Irish Plantation measure—passed into their hands:—and, what is more to the purpose, they have

remained, even unto this day, in those of many of their descendants; but, this kind of convenient transfer of property, as in the time of Henry II., is, of course, to be looked upon as a highly honourable transaction, and as having been only effected in *right of another conquest*;—and, who will undertake to say, that Ireland was not then *reconquered?*—We feel most anxious to advance in our historical researches, but at this period of Irish history, our attention is, as it were, rivetted to events, the effects of which are still felt, and must, we fear, continue to be so.

But, bearing in mind the direful consequences which resulted from the Pope's being allowed to establish the *new sect of Roman Catholic Dissenters in Ireland,* we must here remark, that when Charles XII. of Sweden, after totally defeating him in the field, was pursuing Augustus of Saxony, then king of Poland, throughout his dominions,—when from the irresistible power of his arms, aided by the perjury and treason of Cardinal Radjouski, Primate of the kingdom, and President of the Diet, he was carrying all before him, and every thing was concurring to enable him to gratify his vengeance, as well as to tempt his ambition, Charles's minister, Count Piper, strongly advised him, *in right of conquest*, to place the crown of Poland upon his own head, in place of bestowing it upon any one else; at the same time representing to him, what a glorious achievement it would be, to add to Sweden, and thus make his own, such an acquisition; and likewise to establish the Reformed religion in a country from whence he would banish for ever the Pope's power and influence; the baneful effects of which he had seen so clearly evinced in Poland. Charles, through a mistaken, yet a noble disinterestedness, rejected the sage counsels of his minister, and *Poland remained Roman Catholic*—and he, as well as his country, had afterwards, and Poland has still, reason to lament, that he had neglected an opportunity, which

Providence had seemingly afforded him, of establishing in it Gospel Christianity, upon the ruins of popery. Is not Daubigne therefore right, when he argues, that when a king or a kingdom, no matter in what way it may be, evinces a desire to favour, or a leaning towards popery, (and perhaps never had monarch so little intention of countenancing or encouraging it as Charles,) they are sure to be shorn of their power and glory. Let us only imagine, what would have been, in these our days, the vast importance of Poland having been made Protestant, and annexed by Charles to his Swedish dominions—what a barrier would have been thus presented to Russian encroachments and boundless ambition.

But how true it is, that we are the authors of our own miseries as well as disappointments. We disregard the warnings of history and observation, and particularly the *Word of Truth*, and look for that from creatures, or our own ingenuity, which they are neither designed for, nor able to afford. There is no assurance of the continuance of any earthly possessions or enjoyments: they are, as history or experience shews us, liable to be coveted by others, and consequently exposed to outward violence: they are also corruptible in their qualities, and often perish in the using. And there is not only a physical, but a moral uncertainty in their duration: for, when we look to them rather than to God, God will either take them away, that we may make Him the only strength of our hearts, and our portion for ever, or, if he leaves them, he will take away the comfort from them, and render them our rebukes, or probably our punishments.—It has, therefore, been justly remarked, that nations, as well as individuals, may read their crimes or sins in their sufferings.

Some advantage may, probably, be gained by inquiring farther and more minutely into the state of Ireland during the remainder of the Commonwealth, when Cromwell, as

Protector, carried matters with so high a hand, that none dared to stand up openly against him, or to dispute his authority. His knowledge of all that was going forward, is said to have been so perfect, that no plan for a general revolt amongst the Royalists—no, not even their private correspondence was unknown to him and his able Secretary Thurloe; so that any such attempts were sure to be detected, and the unwise actors in them were, without ceremony, packed off as *slaves to Barbadoes.*

His Government of Ireland was quite as despotic as that of Great Britain. Fleetwood, who had married his eldest daughter, (Ireton's widow) was his Deputy, and carried many of his arbitrary measures into effect. He was, we find, succeeded in the Government of Ireland by the Protector's son, Henry, a young man of great abilities, and extraordinary goodness; who, pitying the oppressed condition of the Irish, did all he could to improve it: indeed, he is said to have been so kind-hearted, and virtuous, that he was always unwilling to follow his father's example in any thing, or to assist in carrying out his cruel and despotic measures. Cromwell, who had caused such changes in England as well as in Ireland, at last found, as it is asserted, the exalted station which he had attained, by the sacrifice of virtue and honour, a burden too heavy to be borne, so that, overwhelmed with cares and apprehensions, he died, already a worn-out old man, on the 3rd of September, 1688, in the 59th year of his age. Richard, his eldest son, succeeded him as Protector; but, the nation soon discovered the difference between the strong arm of Oliver Cromwell, and the weakness and indecision of Richard, and began to shew a disposition to cast off his authority; he therefore deemed it wise to resign a dignity he had no inclination to retain, and of which he foresaw he would soon be dispossessed by violence. Henry Cromwell also resigned his important charge in Ireland, although his great popularity

there was such, as would have enabled him to have kept it, if he had been so inclined; but, like his brother, he preferred the tranquillity and safety of a private station, to the dangerous uncertainty of ambitious enjoyments.

Thus we find Oliver Cromwell,—if we are to credit such accounts,—appearing, even in the eyes of his kind-hearted and virtuous son, an object of family opprobrium. Let us, however, bear in mind the state of society at the period, when overcoming all difficulties and impediments, he placed himself, by his transcendent talents, and by the efforts of his powerful mind, far above other men;—many of whom were obliged to admire and even respect, but still more, on account of his successes in all his undertakings, to hate and envy him; affecting to speak of him contemptuously, and as the son of a butcher; whereas, it is well known, that he was descended from an ancient and honourable family—a point looked upon, as of much more importance in those days, than it is now.

Dr. Johnson declares, that Cæsar, when he assumed the perpetual dictatorship, had not more servile or more elegant flattery than was lavished upon Cromwell. Milton, having exposed the unskilfulness of the former Government, goes on to say:—"We were left to ourselves: the whole national interest fell into your hands, and subsists only in your abilities. To your virtue, overpowering and resistless, every man gives way, except some who, without equal qualifications, aspire to equal honours; who envy the distinctions of merit greater than their own, or who have yet to learn, that in the coalition of human society, nothing is more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason, than that the highest mind should have the sovereign power. Such, Sir, are you by general confession, the greatest and most glorious of our countrymen, the director of our public councils, the leader of unconquered armies, the

father of your country; for by that title does every good man hail you, with sincere and voluntary praise."

We have no wish to become defenders or justifiers of Oliver Cromwell; but, as to what is now-a-days considered the History of Great Britain and Ireland during the Commonwealth, it should be viewed with suspicion. Men's minds were then too strongly prejudiced, and their judgments biassed, in proportion as they had embraced loyal or democratical propensities, to admit of their being impartial. Party spirit also ran so high, and animosities were so bitter among them, as altogether to confuse and obscure their mental faculties. We therefore ought to receive with due caution, what has been handed down to us as historical relations of events which occurred during those calamitous times.

Though it may suit the views of some modern politicians to talk of Tyrone's, and other Irish Rebellions, as occurrences which it is difficult, now-a-days, to prove whether they ever actually happened, or not—that is, whether they are real or imaginary, Cromwell, certainly the ablest politician of the period in which he lived, was not to be so gulled; nor could any one have persuaded him, and Protestants in general, that the horrible and unnatural outbreak of 1641, and its concomitant papist blood-thirstiness, were merely imaginary; and that the Irish—good-natured and obliging souls—in extirpating and rooting them out of the "Land of Saints," were only promoting their welfare, and by no means acting selfishly: in short, Cromwell was not a man to be so duped—he knew well what had recently occurred in Ireland,—the great efforts made there by Romanists to recover for the Bishops of Rome their lost supremacy, and once more to exalt popery upon the ruins of protestantism. This game was not only then playing in Ireland, but also in other parts of the world. Let us,

therefore, see how Cromwell acted in order to uphold the honour and dignity of his country, and at the same time to counteract the deep-laid schemes of those who were working to increase the power and influence of the popedom; and who, even unto the present day, are doing their utmost to effect the same object, particularly *in Ireland.*

A modern writer, and perhaps one of those inspired "Young Englandmen," whose minds are supposed to be above prejudice, or old-fashioned notions, thus proceeds:—

"In justice to the memory of Oliver Cromwell, in whom it is a satisfaction to find some redeeming virtue, no foreign power took so active and spirited a part in behalf of the Vaudois, as England, at this fatal crisis: but it should be added, (what an impartial critic!) that the poet Milton was the person to whom the Vaudois were principally indebted; and whose great influence with Cromwell was constantly employed in urging him to espouse their cause." The Protector, immediately that he was informed of what was going on in the valleys, addressed a Latin letter, of which the following is a translation, to the Duke of Savoy:—

"MOST SERENE PRINCE,

"We are informed by letters received from several places in the vicinity of your dominions, that the subjects of your Royal Highness, professing the Reformed religion, have been commanded by an edict, published by your authority, to quit their habitations and lands, within three days after the promulgation of the edict, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their property, unless they shall enter into an engagement to abjure their own, and to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, before the end of twenty days. We have learnt also, that regardless of their humble petitions to your Highness, praying that you would be pleased to revoke the said edict, and to grant the same privileges which were anciently conceded by your serene ancestors, your army fell upon them, cruelly slaughtered great numbers, imprisoned others, and drove the rest to fly for refuge to desolate places, and to mountains covered with snow, where hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that, it is to be feared, they will all shortly perish with cold and hunger.

"Upon receiving intelligence of the melancholy condition of this most oppressed people, it was impossible not to feel the greatest commiseration and

grief; for we not only consider ourselves united to them by common ties of humanity, but by those of the same religion. Feeling, therefore, that we are invoked by the sacred voice of brotherly love, we declare that we should fail in our duty to ourselves, to God, to our brethren, and to the religion we profess, if we were not deeply moved by a sense of their calamities, and if we did not employ every means in our power, to obtain an alleviation of their unparalleled sufferings. It is on this account that we most earnestly entreat, and conjure your Highness, in the first place, to call to mind the enactments of your serene ancestors, and the concessions which they made from time to time in favour of the Waldenses; and which concessions were granted, no doubt, in obedience to the will of God, who desires that liberty of conscience should be the inviolable right of every man, and in consideration of the merits of these their subjects, who have ever been found valiant and faithful in war, and obedient in time of peace. And as your Serene Highness has graciously and nobly trodden in the steps of your predecessors in all other things, we again and again beseech you, that you will not depart from them in this instance, but that you will revoke this edict, and any other that is oppressive to your subjects, in consequence of their professing the Reformed religion; and that you will restore to them their paternal habitations and property; that you will confirm their ancient rights and privileges; that you will cause reparation to be made for their injuries; and order an end to be put to all vexatious proceedings against them. If your Highness will comply with this request, you will do what is most acceptable to God; you will comfort and support the minds of those unhappy sufferers, and you will be conferring a favour upon the neighbouring Protestant states, and especially upon us, who will ever consider such clemency as the effect of our intercession; which will constrain us to do every kind office in return; and will be the means, not only of strengthening, but of renewing and increasing the relations and friendship which have subsisted between this Commonwealth and your dominions. Promising ourselves much from your justice and moderation, we heartily pray God to direct your mind and thoughts, and so to grant you and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and to prosper all your undertakings.

"Given at our Court at Westminster, the 25th day of May, 1655.

"OLIVER, *Protector.*"

Cromwell, that now universally considered hypocrite, next ordered a general fast, and had a narrative printed, and dispersed throughout England and Wales, setting forth the distress of the Waldensian Church, and recommending a general subscription. He himself set the example of liberality, by contributing £2,000 from the privy purse,

and a sum was shortly after raised, among men, who certainly knew the Protector much better than we can possibly do at the present day, amounting to £38,241. 10*s* 6*d*.

Another of Cromwell's measures was to address letters of urgent recommendation to the Protestant Sovereigns and States, that they would come forward in support of the Protestant interest. To the King of Sweden he represented the noble conduct which his royal progenitors had pursued, when the Reformed religion was menaced in Germany. In a strain of equal eloquence, he explained to the King of Denmark the motives of policy which should induce all Protestant princes to make a common cause with those who were defending such as were persecuted for the Reformed faith. "We proclaim," said he, in a tone which was likely to fix the resolution of the wavering, "that we are prepared, in conjunction with your Majesty, and our other allies of the Reformed religion, to use every means in our power to relieve the wants, and secure the safety and liberty of the unhappy sufferers."

In a letter to the States-General, he reminds their High Mightinesses of the effectual struggles, which they themselves had happily made, in the adverse times of the Protestant Church in their own country, and declares his readiness to take any measures, in conjunction with them, for the preservation of the same faith in the valleys of Piemont. The Protector's negociations with the King of France were still more honourable to his character, because he had the difficult undertaking of persuading one Roman Catholic prince to act against another. His first letter to his most Christian Majesty, boldly touched upon a very delicate topic, and intimated that the troops of France had been concerned in the cruelties in Piemont. In his second letter, Cromwell gave the king of France to understand, that he expected him, not only to employ his mediation with the duke of Savoy, in behalf of the Vaudois, but to

afford shelter and protection to such as should fly for refuge into the French dominions. We regret that it would not suit our views to give either of Cromwell's letters to the king of France, but they are still preserved in the State Paper office. But, three years afterwards, he proceeded at still greater lengths with France, and gave instructions to his Ambassador, Lord Lockhart, to urge the expediency of exchange of territory, in order that the Vaudois might be placed for ever beyond the reach of the iron grasp of the Dukes of Savoy. This scheme and the answer of the king of France, Louis XIV., will excite no small degree of astonishment, when it is remembered, that it was the same monarch who revoked the edict of Nantz, and urged Victor Amadeus to repeat in 1686, the enormities against which he affected to protest, in 1655. "I am very glad, Monsieur le Protector," wrote Louis XIV., "that you are touched with the calamities of these poor people, and I have anticipated your wishes by continuing my intercessions with the Duke of Savoy, for their comfort and relief, and for their establishment in the respective places of his dominions, which they enjoyed by concessions, from the Dukes, his predecessors. As to what remains, you have judged well, in not believing that I had given any orders to my troops to do such execution among them: in truth, there should be no suspicion that I would contribute to the chastisement of any of the Duke of Savoy's subjects of the pretended reformed religion, at the same time that I was giving so many marks of my good will to those of my own subjects of the same profession, having had cause to applaud their fidelity and zeal for my service, since they have not omitted any opportunity of giving me proof thereof, even beyond all that can be imagined, and have contributed in all things to the welfare and advantage of my affairs."

When the Protector had taken these preliminary mea-

sures, he sent Sir Samuel Morland upon a special mission to the court of Turin, to present letters of strong remonstrance to the Duke of Savoy himself, and to demand an audience, for the purpose of making a public declaration of the indignation which the proceedings against the Vaudois, had excited in England. Cromwell could not have chosen a man better qualified to discharge the duties of such an embassy than Morland. Young, ardent, full of courage, and conscious of the dignity of the character which he had to sustain, as the representative of the Commonwealth of England, he procured an audience at Rivoli, and in the presence of the whole Court, he addressed the Duke in a Latin oration, which contained truths that none but a stern republican would have thought of sounding in royal ears. It was the pride and policy of Cromwell, to transact all his negociations with foreign powers in the Latin tongue. He would not condescend to hold intercourse in any but his own, or a learned language, and he considered that by this means neither he himself, nor his Ministers, could be made the dupes of equivocal or ambiguous phrases.

The result of these negociations was, that the Duke of Savoy returned an answer to Cromwell, promising to proclaim a general act of indemnity, to restore the Vaudois to their possessions, and to concede the same privileges and immunities, which his ancestors had granted; and he concluded by referring all differences to the mediation of the king of France. England and the other Protestant powers, were completely thrown off their guard by these promises —*promises made to Heretics;* the courts of France and Savoy took advantage of the satisfaction, which was expressed at the matter having been left to be so arranged, and huddled up a treaty, called that of Pinerolo, which left the unfortunate Vaudois at the mercy of their oppres-

sors, under the pretence of establishing their security. The baneful effects of this conclusion of the affair were too soon felt by the Vaudois themselves. Cromwell was furious upon finding how completely the Protestant States had been over-reached, in their negociations with the Duke of Savoy, and in the faith they had placed in the mediation of Louis XIV., to whom he wrote in a high tone of indignant remonstrance. He also despatched a letter to the Swiss Cantons, plainly signifying his own readiness to go all lengths, in conjunction with them, for the benefit of the Vaudois; and warning them that they were bound, by every consideration, of interest, as well as feeling, to see that the most ancient stock of the Reformed religion be not destroyed, in the remains of its old faithful professors, lest the next blow should fall on themselves.

Unfortunately for the Vaudois, Cromwell did not live to render them farther assistance; he died in the same year (1658) that these last letters were written; and, in him—the *hypocritical* Protector, Oliver Cromwell—they lost their most zealous and powerful friend. Charles the Second, at once suspended the annual pension, arising from that part of the collection made in England, in 1655, which Cromwell had put out to interest; and, did not protest against the continued persecutions of their sovereign, Victor Amadeus, with that earnestness and spirit, which might have enforced attention. Public opinion in England continued in favour of the poor Waldenses; but of what importance was that, when matters came to be managed by the thoughtless, dissipated, and unsteady-minded Charles the Second.

It may, probably, be thought, with regard to these transactions, we have been much too diffuse, and have too long lost sight of our subject; but we must still observe that, admitting Cromwell was the tyrant and hypocrite,

which he is usually represented to have been, yet after the unworthy—we may add, villanous treatment, which, according to authentic official documents, he had experienced from two unprincipled monarchs, we need be but little surprised, if he had been led to entertain highly uncharitable ideas of those, whom—shall we say—his prejudiced feelings and views, made him look upon, as not having common sense or penetration enough to see, that few, if any, of the deceptive tenets of popery, are upheld by *Scripture*, or the *Word of Truth*. Such feelings, and the knowledge of what had occurred in 1641, no doubt powerfully influenced his mind, and caused him to act towards the Irish papists with the severity he did. But, in the present day, in judging of the actions of the men who figured during the Commonwealth, we ought to remember the extraordinary circumstances and positions in which they were placed, and make due allowances for the strong and strange religious excitement, by which their minds were actuated; and charitably believe, that they—at least most of them—though mistaken in their ideas as to what is genuine Christianity, were, at all events, sincere in what they professed. Let us also consider that they were as stubborn as bigoted, in their political and religious principles, and that the Church of England (from the members of which communion our information, respecting Cromwell and his republican contemporaries, is chiefly derived,) had been by them proscribed and suppressed; as they considered that, in some respects, it was but little removed from popery.

We ought now to observe, that Cromwell's and his Deputies' confiscations in Ireland, were certainly carried out upon a most extensive scale. He himself did not hesitate to bestow the lands of Leinster and Munster upon his soldiers, upon individuals, or public companies, who had advanced the money he required to defray the expenses

of his military operations. He deemed it also good policy to restore king James's *Plantation* in the north, and even to extend it, so as to include nearly the whole of Ulster. It is said by some writers of the period, that "he found it difficult to realize the plan which he had formed for the *total extirpation of the Irish.*"—We cannot believe that he ever entertained such an idea; but he appears to have resolved to confine the always easily excited and deluded Irish Roman Catholics to the most remote of the provinces, and the order, which, it is said, he gave for their removal there, is truly characteristic of him, as such history delineates him, as well as sufficiently laconic—viz. "*to Hell or Connaught.*" In Connaught itself, as we are told, he ordered the papists to be turned out of all the walled towns, even though they were of English descent; and it is added, that "the strictest orders were. issued for the suppression of popery; and that Romish priests, found in the exercise of their religious functions, were hanged without ceremony:" but is it at all likely, that Cromwell, whom we have just seen acting so noble and disinterested a part, in order to save the cruelly persecuted Vaudois, could almost at the same time be so inconsistent, as to imitate the example set him by the Duke of Savoy, whose acts he so strongly and justly condemned? This, therefore, will seem to many to be as groundless as it is a ridiculous accusation.

Most of the troops whom Cromwell had selected for his Irish expedition, were the fiercest of the republicans, and most fanatical of the puritans. They had probably been chosen on this account, and because they were the most likely to have opposed his ambitious views in England. But, the acquisition of property seems to have had a soothing effect upon both the political and religious frenzy of the Cromwellians, who readily acquiesced in their General's assumption of more than ordinary regal power,

and would not have seriously objected to his even taking the title of king. These rapacious *conquerors*—for such, in fact, they were—before long, foresaw that the death or removal of Oliver Cromwell from power, would inevitably lead to their being disturbed in the possession of their newly acquired lands; and also, most probably, to the restoration of Charles II.; they therefore made their bargain with the latter, before Monk even commenced his march from Scotland; having taken care to prove to him that an *English interest* was now completely and permanently, through their means, established in Ireland, and that the future dependence of that kingdom was thus insured. Charles, consequently, readily consented, though he both hated and feared the Cromwellians, to become the patron and upholder of the Protestant interest in Ireland.

This important step was, however, before long attended with some inconveniences, arising out of certain claims set up by Charles's secretly favoured friends, the Roman Catholics; so that being somewhat perplexed how to act, in order to *save himself trouble*, as well as to avoid an unseasonable interruption to what was more agreeable to him, in compliance with the advice of a few jovial and worthless men about him, he gave directions for establishing, what was called, *A Court of Claims, in which those who "pretendid to have only taken arms to support the King's cause, might be permitted to prove that they had not shared in the Rebellion against the supremacy of England."* This at once opened a wide and fine field for enterprising lawyers to set about, as we have seen they so ably did, prior to the Rebellion of 1641, proving "black to be white."

The Cromwellians, however, upon this became alarmed, and threatened an appeal to arms. But, we are told that, in the mean time, they wisely offered Charles a share of the plunder—this quickly settled the matter—the Court of Claims was closed—a Parliament was assembled, from

which, of course, papists were excluded—the Acts of *Settlement* and *Explanation* were passed; and were looked upon, not without good reason, as the *Magna Charta* of the Protestants of Ireland.

It may be useful here to observe that, the writer of the *Historical Introduction* to the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," a work by Dr. Madden, author of "Travels in the East," in alluding to the foregoing events, says that, "no greater misfortune could fall upon a nation than to be delivered into the hands of a body of proprietors who felt that their title was defective, and that the tenure of their estates was constantly exposed to the hazards of a revolution. They believed, and they believed justly, that if ever the Catholics, and native Irish recovered political ascendancy, they would inevitably demand the restoration of the forfeited estates, (and probably the restoration of all Church property to *the Church*, without troubling themselves as to what Church it ought to go); they lived, therefore, in a state of continual alarm and excitement, and they were forced to place themselves completely under the control of England, in order to have British aid in protecting the property which they had acquired. But this servile dependence on the British Government and British Parliament, was a painful bondage to men who had not yet forgotten the stern republicanism of their ancestors; and, on more than one occasion, they evinced symptoms of parliamentary independence, which not a little annoyed their British protectors. But these struggles were rare; they felt that they were a garrison in a conquered country, and that if they were abandoned to their own resources, they would soon be compelled to capitulate."

Notwithstanding that this is so confidently asserted to be the Protestants' only alternative, we are inclined to be of a contrary opinion; as we have not a doubt but, that the, of late years, impoliticly too much neglected, and dis-

countenanced, brave, enlightened, wealthy, and easily organized Protestants of Ireland, are both able and willing to maintain those rights, which their warlike ancestors acquired for them; and in doing so, they would certainly be aided, either openly or covertly, by a vast majority of the more wealthy, enlightened, and respectable portion of the Irish Roman Catholics. Allow us, however, to ask—What is all this, thus held out to the wretched lower classes, but mere delusion, and telling them that, to this hour, they are *unjustly kept out of their own;* and that, true patriotism consists in their compelling their conquerors and oppressors, the Protestants, to make up their minds to *capitulate*—in other words, to decamp; for they have no chance in the field, if Great Britain only becomes embarrassed by a foreign war, and cannot, in consequence, aid them against the millions of desperately excited, and from innumerable wrongs, infuriated Romanists.

The events which followed belong more to English than Irish history; but, it should be observed, that they had a powerful effect upon the destinies of the people of Ireland; one of the most important of which was, the restoration of Charles II., in the year 1660, upon whom both warning and example were completely thrown away; for though he possessed talents, he never made a good use of them, but passed his days in gaiety and frivolity.

Derrick, in his amusing letters, tells us that Charles at once confirmed the grants made by Cromwell to his soldiers, while his loyal subjects were betrayed and abandoned to misery. Among these unhappy sufferers was Lord Fermoy, the head of the Roches, of the county of Cork. This nobleman, refusing to compound with Cromwell, abandoned a fine estate, and in 1652, went abroad and entered into the Spanish service. When Charles was at Brussels, Fermoy, being a colonel of a regiment, assigned to the king almost all his pay, reserving a mere

trifle for himself and family. This generosity having ruined him, he was obliged to sell his regiment to pay his debts; and after the restoration, coming to London with a wife and six children, the king, though pressed by the Duke of Ormond, and Lord Clanricarde, far from restoring him to his honours and estate, refused to hear of him; and had it not been for the benevolence of these noblemen, this unhappy Lord and his family must have been starved.

Thousands of instances of the ingratitude of that heartless and profligate member of a race almost wholly useless, could be given; but it would not suit us to waste our time or space in making further extracts from Derrick's letters, or the accounts given by other writers.

After Charles's restoration, Ormond had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Cabal, as it was called, consisting of five of the most unprincipled men in the kingdom, hated him for his honesty. One day in Parliament, Lord Shaftesbury attacked the Duke of Ormond's administration of the Government of Ireland; but was so keenly, yet politely answered by Lord Ossory, the Duke's son, that though one of the most hardened men that ever lived, he retired not only confounded, but even abashed. This retort had come the more unexpectedly, as Lord Ossory was a plain gallant soldier, more accustomed to fighting than to oratory. He was the Duke's only son, universally beloved in Ireland, and one of the most popular men in the kingdom. He died early in life, to the great grief of his father, and indeed of the whole nation.

Charles appears to have begun his reign by forming a ministry from among men of all parties; but the state in which Ireland was left, does not seem to have given him any uneasiness: indeed, he tried to think as little of it as possible. He, though a Papist in heart, restored Episcopacy, and nine of the old bishops of the Church of England, who still survived, were replaced in

their sees, and most of the ejected clergy returned to their livings. The Presbyterians saw these measures with dissatisfaction; but an insurrection of one of the fanatical sects, among the Republicans, gave the ministry a favourable opportunity to insist upon the restoration of the Church of England, without any modifications. An Act of Uniformity was passed, which required the assent of all the clergy to several articles very obnoxious to the Presbyterians. Those who refused to sign the articles were disabled from holding their livings; and, in consequence, two thousand of them were deprived. Thus ecclesiastical matters were, as it was imagined by the politicians of that day, wisely settled in both England and Ireland; the affairs of the latter, being prudently, justly, and humanely conducted by—as he was styled—"*the good Duke of Ormond;*" under whom the Irish once more began, in some degree, to prosper, or at least, to recover from the effects of what they had brought upon themselves by their imprudent and rebellious acts.

It is now necessary to request the reader's attention to another extract from the *Historical Introduction* to Dr. Madden's work before mentioned. Its writer has done his utmost to instil into the minds of the Irish, that there had never existed any just cause for their being deprived of their lands; and, consequently, their rebellions or insurrections were all to be looked upon as justifiable and even patriotic. He would also lead them to believe, according to the carefully inculcated notions of the day, that their ancestors, up to the reign of James I., and even after it, had possessed considerable tracts of land, keeping out of sight the conquests of Ireland by Henry II. and by Cromwell, and the establishment of English laws in Ireland by the former; which we afterwards found existing within the *Pale* only—the rest of the Irish having no protection from the laws:—he says, "a new difficulty about

the tenure of land arose, which afterwards produced very fatal consequences. According to the English law, the ultimate property of all estates is in the Crown, and land is held only by virtue of a royal grant: according to the Irish law, the property of land was vested in the Sept, tribe, or community, who were co-partners with their chief, rather than his tenants or vassals. Whenever a change was made from Irish to English tenure, an obvious injustice was done to the inferior occupants, for they were reduced from the rank of proprietors to that of tenants at will. This principle was never thoroughly understood by the English Lords Justices, and hence they unintentionally inflicted grievous wrongs, when they tried to confer upon any portion of the country the benefit of English law. In fact, the change from Irish to English tenure involved a complete revolution of landed property, which would have required the most delicate and skilful management to be accomplished safely, but those to whom the process was intrusted, were utterly destitute of any qualifications for the task. The Commission of Grace issued by James I. for the purpose of securing the titles of Irish land, was viewed with just suspicion by the great and small proprietors, and its results were an uncertainty of tenure and possession, which kept every person in a state of alarm.

"The real or supposed plot of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and O'Dogherty, afforded a pretext for confiscating the six northern counties, over which the sovereignty of these chieftains extended; but whatever was the amount of their guilt, it is obvious that they could only forfeit that which they themselves possessed. They were not the proprietors of these counties; the actual occupants of the soil were not accused, much less convicted of any participation in the plot; and, therefore, the sweeping seizure of half a million acres, without any regard to the rights of those who were in actual possession. was a monstrous injustice,

to which few histories can furnish a parallel."—Admirable, lawyer-like reasoning—worthy of the great O'Connell himself!

Let the reader, however, (first considering, that the censorship of the press, which in most countries—Ireland included, as far as the Romanists are concerned—is in the hands of Ecclesiastics, and generally of the Jesuits;—which, in fact, prevents any thing from transpiring, or rather being read by them, which could enlighten or make known to their flocks, what they may desire to have concealed,) take the trouble of referring to the *true* or historical account which we have given of Tyrone's *plot*, or rebellion, and see whether it was *real* or only *supposed*; and whether *all* the people of the counties alluded to, were concerned in it or not:—were they *all* to have been brought into courts of justice, and tried for high treason, and found guilty of it, before they were to be punished as traitors?—this is really too ridiculous; but it is thus that so many of the Irish are deluded, and made to imagine that "they are unjustly kept out of their own." Let the reader also consider, what we have shewn to have been the actual condition of the Irish at that period—let him likewise remember, how much of the *good land* was long before, in right of conquest, conferred upon their conquerors—and how little, and that the worst of it, was allowed to remain in possession of the chieftains of their respective septs; and how it had been, from one generation to another, doled out to them by these rapacious chieftains or tanists, according to the old *gavelkind* process!—As to the despotic acts of James I., there are two very opposite opinions respecting them; and we are rather inclined to justify than to condemn them. It is, however, sadly to be deplored, that so little is known by mankind, in general, of *real Irish history*.

But all this while the emissaries of Rome were neither

unobservant nor idle. We must now, however, pass rapidly on, (the intervening events belonging properly to English history), to the period, when James II., after an unfortunate reign of about three years, found it necessary to fly into France, where Louis XIV. received him with great generosity, and even commiseration. Being assisted by that monarch with arms and money, he landed at Kinsale, in Ireland. The great majority of the Irish, notwithstanding all they had suffered from—let us call it—their mistaken zeal, were still as bigoted and blinded papists as ever; and consequently, were easily induced by their priests and leaders, to take up arms in his cause, merely because it was that of popery, which he and they had equally at heart, and were alike determined to make the predominant, or only religion of the empire. Thus, to our surprise, we find that James's troops,—including a considerable body of French—when he arrived, occupied nearly the whole of Ireland; and consequently he was enabled to commence military operations under many advantages.

We must here pause for a moment to observe, that this was another occasion, unwisely chosen by Romanists, to wreak their vengeance upon Protestants; and it was also deemed a fitting opportunity for their leaders to lay hold of the forfeited Estates, upon the pretence of their being thus enabled the more effectually to aid James in recovering his rights. But, who can describe the atrocities and massacres perpetrated by the host of ruffians who assumed the names of *Rapparees*, &c., who were let loose upon the Protestants; who, from having been disarmed by Tyrconnell, were unable to defend themselves, and were consequently subjected to every kind of outrage. The men whom James II. raised to the Bench, even refused the Protestants the "Habeas Corpus," when they were unlawfully imprisoned by his satellites; and the Papists knowing

this, a general seizure and committal of Protestants took place from the summer of 1689, to the battle of the Boyne. In the month of July in the same year, a Proclamation was issued, by which all Protestants were confined to their respectives towns and parishes; and on the 18th of June, 1690, another Proclamation appeared, which expelled from Dublin those who had taken refuge there from the fury of the Rapparees; and which also directed, that no Protestant should walk the streets from Ten at night till Five in the morning; and, that no greater number than five Protestants should presume to meet together upon any pretence whatsoever.

These were some of the *mild and liberal* doings of the Papists, who had thus acquired brief authority in Ireland; but, strange to say, they are almost unknown in the present day: indeed, were such *facts* adduced by any one, what numbers of vociferous Irish orators would have the effrontery to stand forward to cry him down, and to deny that they had ever occurred—and, what is more, many Protestants would be dolts enough to believe them, and probably declare that such unjust accusations, made against *pure Irish Patriots*, were the mere inventions of *Orangemen!*

The events which followed, are too well known, for us to dwell minutely upon them; but in March, 1689, James made a public entry into Dublin; where he was as joyfully received by its easily excited, and inconsiderate inhabitants, *as Oliver Cromwell, the cruel oppressor of Ireland, had been in* 1649!

It was on the 24th of March, 1689, that James Stuart made his triumphal entry into Dublin. Ireland had not seen a King of England since the days of John; and he who now appeared, came, not on a visit of state, or merely to receive the homage due to his dignity, but to contest in arms, with his rival, this the only part of his

dominions which had adhered to him. Every effort had been made by the leaders of the Jacobite party, now the ruling one in Ireland, to give an imposing air to the entrance of their sovereign, into the only capital which still looked upon him as her King. The entire of the way leading from where James landed to the Castle was lined by soldiers; the streets themselves were newly sanded for the occasion; the balconies of the citizens were hung with tapestry and cloth of arras, and filled with all the loveliness and grace of a town, which, for female beauty, in comparison to its extent, has always stood unrivalled. In a carriage preceding the King, bearing the sword of state, sat Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell; James himself mounted on a gallant charger, wearing the decorations of the Garter, with the Earl of Granard, and Lord Powis on his right, and the Duke of Berwick, and Lord Mofont on his left, advanced amidst the plaudits of the multitude. On approaching that part of the town, then called, as it is now, the Liberty, a silken canopy was erected over the way, and here by far the most interesting part of the pageant appeared. Forty young and beautiful maidens, selected from the different convents in Dublin, clad in white silk, and bearing baskets filled with flowers in their hands, joined the procession, and walked immediately before His Majesty, strewing the contents of their baskets in his path the rest of the way to the Castle. The bands of the different regiments played the well-known Jacobite tune of "The King shall have his own again," while the people rent the air with the shouts of God save the King.

He soon after laid siege to Londonderry; but the besieged, though reduced by famine to the last extremity, made a most vigorous and obstinate defence; and were at last relieved. In the month of August, in the same year, the Duke of Schomberg, King William's General, landed

in Ireland with about ten thousand men, and immediately commenced operations against the Jacobites, the name given to James's party. The Duke, however, met with unlooked-for difficulties; and, after James had been above a year in Ireland, William resolved to undertake the war against him in person; and on the 14th of June, 1690, landed at Carrickfergus with a large body of troops; which, when joined to those already in Ireland under Schomberg, composed an army of about thirty-six thousand men.

James was enabled to bring nearly the same number of troops, of all arms, into the field; and the two armies came in sight of each other on the opposite banks of the river Boyne. We have, however, given a French account of this battle in a former chapter, and shall therefore only here add, that James, who witnessed the action from the hill of Dunmore, when he saw his troops giving way, immediately turned his horse's head towards Dublin, without making any effort whatever to retrieve the fortune of the day. It is remarked that, at this time, James's wonted resolution and activity seemed to have abandoned him, and his mind had become, as it were, entirely subdued, by beholding his army so quickly and easily defeated. When he arrived in Dublin, he was met at the Castle by Lady Tyrconnell, a woman of spirit. "Your countrymen, Madam," said James, as he was ascending the stairs, "can run well." "Not quite so well as your Majesty," retorted her Ladyship, "for I see you have won the race." Immediately after this conversation, he called the Magistrates together, and signified to them his intention of quitting the kingdom. In a few days after, he set sail from Waterford for France, to put himself under the protection of its Monarch: thus, and without further ceremony, leaving the unfortunate Irish to their fate, and the

tender mercy of their again conquerors. But nothing, it seems, will serve as a lesson to this infatuated and constantly betrayed people, thus again thrown still further back in point of civilization.

Some few places, after James had quitted Ireland, still held out against William; who, finding it indispensable that he should return to England, entrusted the further following up of the victory he had gained, first to the Earl—afterwards Duke of Marlborough, and then to the Earl of Athlone; who, before the conclusion of the year 1691, reduced the towns which had so unwisely remained faithful to James, and completely subdued his adherents; having totally defeated them at Aughrim and St. Ruth. Limerick, the siege of which William had been obliged to raise, was one of the towns reduced by Lord Athlone, who granted favourable terms to its garrison. But, to such of James's troops as chose still to follow his fortunes, permission was given to leave Ireland; and, in consequence, about twelve thousand of them went to France, where they were gladly received by Louis XIV., who formed them into a corps, which long after bore the name of the "Irish Brigade," whose achievements in the French service, have recently been made known to the world, in a history of them, published in Dublin, to be admired, and, if necessary, imitated by modern Irish *Patriots*.

Thus was Ireland, for the time, *quieted;* but in the inscrutable dealings of Divine Providence with men, and especially with those who substitute human inventions for what is enjoined in the *Word of God*, Romanism was—dare we say, unfortunately—still to be the religion professed, by far the greater part of the Irish; they being prevented from seeing that the cause of *Truth* recompenses those who embrace and defend it: and that it is to *Gospel principles*, such as their ancestors, prior to the conquest of

Henry II., gloried in, that their Protestant neighbours owed their happiness and wonderful prosperity. But times change; and a nation's ideas of what is right at one time, and wrong at another, change also. What man, who lived during that eventful period, could possibly have imagined, that about 160 years after, a descendant of his, for being an admirer of King William, and for appreciating what he had effected for the British empire; and for being a conscientious upholder of protestantism, as well as of a Protestant succession and Government should, upon these accounts, be looked upon in the light of a delinquent, and considered unworthy to hold any office under a Protestant Government, or of being a dignitary of the Established Church of the Realm?—but, well has it been said, "tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis."

What must have been the feelings or predilections of the Irish Romanists, towards the Stuarts, at the periods of the rebellions in Scotland of 1715 and 1745, we can have no difficulty in imagining. Nothing of importance was, however, attempted by them in their cause; indeed, it seemed as if the results of the battle of the Boyne, and subsequent events, had neither been forgotten, nor ceased to be felt; and evidently, they had taken away all hopes, on the part of the Romanists, of their ever being able to throw off the English yoke, or of making Romanism predominant in Ireland.

A very long, and we may term it, *prosperous*, yet far from always tranquil period, had however, elapsed, between the years 1691 and 1793, the epoch from which we now deem it most useful again to begin to avail ourselves of our researches, during which the Irish had not only much increased in numbers, but their agriculture and commerce had also been greatly extended; though the former was still, except perhaps in the north of Ireland, but little improved in point of system.

But politics and place-hunting had long, to the upper classes, been a *profession* in unhappy Ireland, to the exclusion of almost every other useful employment; and to what untoward and fearful changes in the national character and feeling of the Irish, has not this led! The chief object of too many landholders, was to create profitable parliamentary interest in their estates—and let it be remembered that this was in the *Irish Parliament, sitting,* where Repealers wish to see it again, in *College-Green.* This, up to the year 1793, had no very mischievous tendency; and consisted in increasing, as far as it was practicable, chiefly a Protestant tenantry, to whom had been assigned, at moderate rents, small allotments of land, with suitable dwellings upon them, to enable them to become *parliamentary electors.* But it was in the year 1793, that the *Irish cabin and con-acre system* was unwisely adopted, which converted labourers into tenants, inundated the land with a race of miserable Roman Catholic paupers; for whom, in time of need, there was no kind of provision made, in the shape of a poor-rate or otherwise; and which caused to seek their fortunes in foreign countries, numbers of Ireland's *really valuable peasantry:* thus, too many landlords had only looked for immediate gain, in the shape of lucrative government appointments—chiefly sinecures—for themselves, their families, and dependants; and their descendants, as well as the descendants of such a misnamed *tenantry,* are now reaping the bitter fruits of their rapacity, as likewise of a line of policy disgraceful to the Government of the period; who, when they bought men for present purposes, and induced them to adopt what has proved to be the ruinous *con-acre, or potato-feeding of the poor, system,* ought surely also to have looked to futurity; for that was the *right time* to have established a well and prudently regulated *poor-rate;* which would have wisely served as a check upon the short-sighted acts of such selfish

landlords: in fact, both landlords and Government were equally to blame. In its present state, a poor-rate is altogether unsuitable to Ireland: if carried out to a sufficient extent, and the recent *Loans* to *Landlords* must be at once repaid—as perseveringly insisted upon, by a highly influential Journal, ought to be done—the consequence, seemingly, will be (as attempted to be shewn by Mr. Butt, and who is ridiculed by that Journal for his pains,) the confiscation of a vast proportion of the land of Ireland; and into whose hands it will pass, after what will be something approaching to a revolution, God alone can foresee: even the hopeless Irish paupers look to a poor-rate with horror and detestation, and as a system reducing them to a condition worse than that of serfdom. But it has been—it seems to be generally admitted—justly remarked that, property has its duties to perform, as well as its rights to protect. The former are usually forgotten or neglected; and few proprietors seem to know, or rather wish to remember that, it is a principle upon which English law—which is now in force in Ireland—is founded, that *the people belong to the land and the land to the people.* This may be to many a startling announcement, especially to those who have looked to middle-men for high rents, and who either sanctioned or did not take steps in time to prevent the subdividing of small farms system; and we trust that when they find we expound correctly, they will, for their own sakes, be inclined to consider what their *rights* in the land really are *in the eye of the law*, and what the *rights* of the hosts of starving tenants—we may say, created by certain Irish landlords in and since the year 1793—also now are. Winking at the ruinous system of subletting, and charging such a rent for land, as no tenant can honestly pay, is not just; and it is as unjust to eject him for not being able to pay a rent, which no Middle-man nor landlord has a right to demand from him, for land which he must now have or

starve. There are many exceptions; and we are far from accusing landlords in general of having acted towards their dependent tenants with such injustice and heartlessness, as we have been commenting on; yet we cannot see how any law could be made, or plan adopted, to meet such an alarming state of things, as now exist in too many Irish estates—landlords promoting the emigration of such pauper tenants to our extensive colonies, seems to us to be the best remedy for existing evils—self interest as well as justice require them to contribute liberally towards carrying out a plan, which would in time free their estates from the burden of an incubus, which, if allowed to remain, must overwhelm them.

Yet it ought here to be remarked, that there is a certain class of politicians, who endeavour to make the world believe that, emigration ought not to be looked upon in any other light than as a great evil; less only than the immediate and unconditional starvation of an overwhelming unemployed population; and even then, that it can only be viewed as an ineffectual and dangerous make-shift. This is certainly the case, where for every one that emigrates, two or three remain, who are invariably the poorest, least able, least skilled, least provident of the people; whereas, those who go, are the very persons who should stay at home. Thus, in Ireland, owing to the wretched system of emigration persevered in, the good leaven is continually withdrawn. The population is a perpetual subsidence of misery, from which far too much of lighter and healthier element is unwisely allowed to evaporate. It is, unfortunately, in this way, that emigration continues to be, as it were, a sieve that gives, chiefly to the United States of America, the better part, and leaves little else but the refuse behind,—we purpose, however, reverting to this important subject.

But the same feeling of detestation, which had of old been often evinced by the Irish, of English government

and English connection, and which it seems impossible to eradicate, was but too soon after the production of this pauper tenantry, to be blown into a flame, by the influence exerted by the *Pope-intruded priesthood*, and by a set of discontented, ambitious, and dangerous men; who had themselves imbibed, and had universally diffused, certain demoralizing democratical principles, and who, as they hoped to profit by a revolution, would not have cared to have seen their country in the same terrific state of anarchy, as that to which the blood-thirsty, demoniacal French Republicans had so brutally reduced their own. In this instance, however, the Romish priesthood—a rare occurrence—seem to have been altogether outwitted; for had these men obtained their object, not only the priests themselves, but their religion, would have been pitched to the winds, by these *patriots*; who were, alas! once more able to stir up their easily deluded and excitable countrymen, to rebel against England, then ruled by the well-meaning, truly religious, and, when he felt convinced he was acting uprightly, most resolute of monarchs—George III.

On the meeting of Parliament, in January 1798, the king intimated to both Houses that he had received intelligence of designs entertained by the French government, with which the discontented in England, but particularly in Ireland, were known to be in close communication, to attempt the invasion of both countries. But whether this danger, as to the former, was real or imaginary, it had, at all events, an effect which had not been anticipated by the enemies of peace and good government—that of uniting all men, of all parties in Great Britain, in one common bond for the public safety.

As part of this plan, in the summer of the same year, the Irish democrats, imagining that it was a favourable moment for them to effect their insensate objects, it being supposed that Great Britain had been weakened by long

and expensive wars, a Rebellion broke out in Ireland, which raged chiefly in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford; in which many cruelties and atrocities were perpetrated by both Loyalists and Rebels. This Rebellion was, however, soon suppressed, chiefly by the prudent measures adopted by Marquis Cornwallis; who on this occasion was appointed Lord Lieutenant. But to place it beyond all dispute, that the Rebel leaders had calculated, not without good reason, upon foreign aid, about twelve hundred French troops, who had landed at Killala on the 12th of August, were compelled to surrender on the 8th of the following month. This, no doubt, they could have been easily forced to do much sooner; but, it appears to have been considered good policy, to allow those who were cautiously hanging back, more time to declare themselves, so that government might the better know who were the chief promoters of, as well as actors in, this absurd attempt to throw off the English yoke.

On this occasion, the heartless and selfish men, who by false representations, by magnifying grievances and sufferings—in a great measure the fruits of former revolts, and of the inhuman manner in which the Irish had treated their Protestant fellow-subjects—were again able to induce their unfortunate countrymen to rebel, as well as those who more openly figured during the Rebellion, have by some of Ireland's most flowery poets and orators been extolled as paragons of patriotism and heroism!—Romanists, to a man, are carefully taught to look upon them as such—many of the north of Ireland Presbyterians are, in this respect, equally imposed upon; and numbers even in Great Britain, unto the present day, believe that their views were patriotic. And what have been the natural consequences?—are not the deluded Irish still made, in order that they may be kept in constant readiness for any future mischievous out-break, to consider themselves as *still* "*kept out of their own,*" and *tyrannised over by their Saxon*

oppressors, from whom they are never to look for justice, because they are *Irish* and *Papists;* and in order that they may feel the more acutely that this is indeed the case, their deceivers, on all fitting occasions, address them as "*hereditary bondsmen,*" and remind them that their freedom can only be achieved by their own patriotic—that is—rebellious efforts. And the more surely to effect their objects, they have enlisted in their cause, writers of all descriptions—even novelists are thus employed; and in the preface to "O'Halloran, or the Insurgent Chief," published in 1843, we find the following effusion:—"The conspiracy and insurrection of the United Irishmen were undeniably the most interesting, if not the most important character of any that ever agitated a country. Its leaders exhibited a combination of talents, courage, and disinterested patriotism, which has seldom been equalled, and which, in conjunction with the generous nature of the principles for which they contended, could not, and did not fail to attract towards them the admiration and sympathy of all classes of men in Christendom, without excepting even those against whose authority their arms were wielded.—Their enterprise failed, whether fortunately or unfortunately for mankind, it is not the business of the novelist to inquire; but had it succeeded, and the designs they had formed for the advantage of their country been realized, what epithets of praise would have been considered too high for their deserts?"

But not satisfied with thus deceiving and misleading their naturally warm-hearted and confiding countrymen, as well as corrupting their principles of loyalty, under the pretext of giving an account of an affair between rebel Pikemen, and some British cavalry, it is cunningly contrived to instruct them in the, as they suppose, required mode of formation, as well as how men so armed are to act against an enemy; and though it is truly absurd to suppose

that cavalry would not quickly give a good account of what had become of men so exposed to their charge; yet, let us imagine, a single piece of artillery—say horse artillery—brought to bear upon them: or even a small body of our highly disciplined infantry opening, from a judiciously taken up position, a steady and well directed fire upon a mass of badly disciplined troops, so helplessly formed,—what would be their fate may be also easily imagined;—still the intentions of these *Irish tacticians* are but too obvious; for they evidently wish to make the unfortunate peasant, when brought into the field to be slaughtered, to have confidence in the use of the pike:—"O'Halloran expected that Major Siddons would endeavour to disperse his men, as soon as they should enter the town, by a charge of cavalry; he therefore placed in his van, a phalanx, (how truly Yankee this is!) consisting of 400 Pikemen, forming a compact square of 20 men in each side. This phalanx was divided into 5 files, each containing 4 men in front, and the whole range of the 20 men in depth. The second and fourth of these files were ordered, as soon as they expected the charge should be made, to give way and permit the horsemen to follow into the spaces they should thus leave vacant, while the first, third, and fifth files, remaining firm, should fall upon them on all sides with their pikes."—Of course, this *salt-laying-on-bird's-tail-manœuvre,* is represented as having been completely successful, and that all the cavalry were cut to pieces!

With such ideas so carefully inculcated into the minds of the great mass of the people of Ireland, there could be little good expected to result from the important measure —that of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland—which was carried about two years after the suppression of this Rebellion. Every real friend and well-wisher to Ireland, entertained strong hopes that it would tend to put an end to the animosities, which had so long existed

between the Irish and the English, as they would ever after have but one common interest or object—that of promoting the honour, glory and prosperity of the *United Kingdom*:—but strange to say, they altogether overlooked or did not understand, that so many of the great bonds of Union, the chief of which is *a common religion*—were wanting.

It is well known that all kinds of bribery and corruption were practised upon every one willing or unwilling to sell himself, or who was thought worth purchasing, from the supposed influence he was able to exercise over the always-to-be-deluded Irish people: whose rights—if they, as a conquered nation, had any?—were, on this occasion, as recklessly and heartlessly disposed of by their *patriotic leaders*, as they would have induced them, had it suited their purposes, to brandish their long concealed pikes and rusty guns, and to stand forth to be slaughtered, in what "*Young Ireland*" would seem to admire and prefer—open rebellion. Few, indeed, were found, who were able to withstand the temptations of titles, lucrative appointments, and the vast sums of money which were lavished on them. Amongst the very few who could not, by some means or other, be bought, was Mr. Foster, (afterwards Lord Oriel) then Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who, it is said, refused not only a Peerage, a Bishopric for his brother, but also to have all his debts, amounting to about £100,000, paid for him. Mr. Foster's truly disinterested patriotism, was admired by some good and well-meaning men, who imagined that the measure would prove injurious to Ireland; but, almost every one else, only laughed at him, as "next door to a fool;" and, there is no doubt, that when he afterwards appeared at Court, the Sovereign was advised to turn his back upon him, for his having, as absurdly, as uselessly, stood so long as he did, in the way

of those who had taken such pains, and had gone such lengths, in order to promote the permanent welfare of Ireland; and whatever may be said to the contrary, and whatever may have been the means used, there cannot be a doubt, but that this was sincerely their object.

Thus, in the year 1800, was accomplished a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nearly on the same principles on which, in the reign of Queen Anne, the Union had been framed between England and Scotland—would that we could say, with the same happy results. Twenty-eight Peers, and one hundred Commoners, were admitted from the Irish into the English Parliament, or rather into the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the title which was now formally adopted as its proper designation.

It has been asserted, that when the Union was agreed upon, Mr. Pitt promised the removal of the various disabilities under which Roman Catholics had at different times been placed; but to this, king George III. would never listen; it being, as he considered, not only impolitic, but also contrary to the *Coronation oath* which he had conscientiously taken; and besides, his high tone of religious feeling, strengthened by an extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, made him fully sensible as to what such a step would inevitably lead. The clear-sighted Lord Eldon, in reference to this subject, in writing to an ancient clerical friend, says:—"Whilst dreaming of a visit to you, I have awakened with the *Great Seal* in my hand, to my utter astonishment. The King considers the struggle as for his throne; and he told me but yesterday, when I took the Seal, that he did so consider it;—that he must be the Protestant King of a Protestant Country, or no King."

But, had it been in Mr. Pitt's power to fulfil the promise

he is said to have made, whether it would have been for the permanent good of Ireland or not, is very problematical. But will the removal, in the present day, of every disability, be the means of inducing the Irish to relinquish that hatred which they have so long nourished in their hearts against their British Protestant neighbours,—will it change or improve their national feelings and character?—If the further concessions, talked of, as intended by Lord John Russell, were to tend to good,—which is very uncertain;—and if it would be believed by Romanists that all their disabilities were removed, as acts of justice, and not from the apprehension of continued agitation, we could not consistently object, merely on account of the consequences which might, perhaps, result to Protestantism, to allow all our fellow subjects to be placed on a par with ourselves, as to civil as well as religious rights. Lord John Russell, in submitting his recent measure to Parliament said:—"This was a bill to repeal certain penalties which might now be inflicted on persons, either on account of their professing certain religious opinions, or on account of certain practices connected with their religious faith, which were formerly supposed to be dangerous to the country. The greater part of these punishments would at once be considered by the House as unworthy of being retained in the statute-book; and he would, therefore, only mention them cursorily before proceeding to those parts of the bill upon which there might be some difference of opinion. He proposed first to repeal two acts concerning the Jews. The first was an ordinance which was supposed to prevent them from holding land, though there had been considerable doubt as to whether it had that effect. In order to remove all possible doubt in future, it had been thought desirable to repeal the ordinance. The other statute was one which provided that Jews should

wear certain badges or marks of degradation and inferiority, which the House certainly could not wish to maintain. The next class of acts were the acts which required the attendance of persons on public worship according to the usage of the Established Church, and inflicted penalties on those who attended public worship in places not belonging to the Established Church. The first of the series of acts upon that subject which he proposed to repeal was the 5th and 6th of Edward VI., imposing, for the first offence, six months' imprisonment; for the second, one year; and for the third, imprisonment for life. There was an act of the 29th of Elizabeth passed, having the same object, which imposed a penalty of 20*l.* a month on those who did not attend public worship in the Established Church. There were other acts imposing penalties for not attending church on the 5th of November; and there were various statutes, one of which he believed was put in force a few years ago, imposing penalties on those who did not attend Church on Sunday. Now, as, according to the law of the land, all persons were now allowed to attend public worship in the place which was most conformable to their religious convictions, it was proposed to abolish the whole of the penalties relating to that subject. Another class of acts were those which provided against the dangers that this country incurred in former times by reason of the pretensions made by the see of Rome to supremacy over this country. Those acts were very severe in their nature, and whatever might have been thought of them, at the time when they were passed, it was impossible to maintain them in the present day. There were penalties against the Popish recusant, who appeared in the presence of the sovereign; there were penalties of a very severe description against persons who maintained the authority of the Pope. The act of Queen Elizabeth upon that subject, for

the first offence, condemned the party to the loss of the whole of his personal property; for the second it subjected him to a *præmunire;* and for the third it declared him to be guilty of high treason. Now he need hardly say that he proposed to do away with the whole of these penalties; but, at the same time, he must admit that the question had been raised whether, in so doing, they should in any way affect the title of the crown to supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual. It had been laid down by the greatest authorities of former times, including Lord Hale and Lord Coke, that the supremacy of the crown in such matters was part of the common law of the kingdom; and the same opinion had been expressed within the last few weeks by Lords Lyndhurst, Campbell, and Denman. He did not think, therefore, that there could be any danger in taking away these penalties; nor did he think it could seriously be maintained that any advantage could arise from keeping up penalties of that nature. The mere assertion that the Pope had, or ought to have, spiritual supremacy in this realm, ought not to be punished so long as nothing was done to disturb the regular course of the law; and, in the latter case, the doctrine to which he had referred would settle any question that might arise. There was another offence to which the bill had reference, namely that of introducing bulls of the Pope into this country. By an act of the 13th of Elizabeth, passed at a time when there certainly was not merely an assertion of the Pope's authority, but an attempt to relieve persons from their allegiance by that authority, it was declared that all persons who introduced those bulls should be considered guilty of high treason. The question was whether it was desirable to keep up that or any other penalty for such an offence. It did not appear to him that they could possibly prevent the introduction of bulls. There were certain bulls which

were absolutely necessary—for example, bulls for the appointment of bishops and pastors belonging to the Roman Catholic Church; it would be quite absurd to prevent the introduction of such bulls, and every one knew that they were in fact introduced. Supposing any attempt should be made by the Pope, and the supposition was altogether an extravagant one, to interfere with the allegiance of the subjects of the Crown, he believed that no bulls having that object would be obeyed by any Roman Catholic, and they would, therefore, be a dead letter; and if any seditious or treasonable offence should be committed it would be punishable by law. For these reasons he thought common justice required that they should repeal the penalties which he had mentioned, by passing the bill sent down to them from the House of Lords. When the bill had passed, there would still remain some confusion, though not, he thought, a contradiction, in the state of the law, because no bill had been introduced to alter the oaths which were now taken. They would continue to take the oath "that the Pope hath not, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm;" and, at the same time, in point of fact, no doubt, he did exercise spiritual authority, "within this realm." That was the case at present, and it would continue to be so after the bill had passed. He (Lord J. Russell) had always interpreted that oath to mean that, in the opinion of the person taking it, he had not, and ought not to have, any jurisdiction which could be enforced by law. But he thought the entire state of the law with respect to oaths required to be taken into consideration by Parliament; and the passing of the present bill would not relieve them from the necessity of considering that part of the subject in another session. The question whether it was desirable to introduce that bill alone had been maturely discussed

by the late government; and they came to the opinion, which was acted upon by Lord Lyndhurst, that it would be more expedient in the present session to introduce a measure upon which there would be little difference of opinion, than to encounter the difficulties which would probably attend a measure for remodelling the whole state of the law upon that subject. Upon the question whether that course was the best that could have been pursued, he did not wish to give any opinion; but he thought the House would at least get rid of a great many absurd penalties, by passing the bill which he then asked them to read a second time."

In looking, however, as we proceed, to what occurred in succeeding reigns, from that of George III. we shall be better able to see what were the effects of concessions made to Romanists, with a view to conciliate them; and also of *Protestant Britain* having, in an evil hour, evinced a leaning towards popery.

Three years had scarcely elapsed since that Union had been effected, from which so much good was looked for, when we again find the Irish in a state of revolt. In the year 1803, a strong spirit of democracy had again taken hold of the imaginations of vast numbers of even the better and more intelligent classes, and whose notions of liberty may be considered as a kind of residue of the republican principles which had been so extensively diffused among them, in 1798. The unfortunate Emmet, who was deeply concerned in this insensate conspiracy, as he had been in that of ninety-eight, was like too many others, completely captivated with the wild theories of republican perfections. Being found guilty of high treason, though ably defended by the celebrated Mr. Curran, in justification of his motives and actions, he addressed the Court and Jury in language such as has been rarely if ever equalled. Of his

most touching and eloquent speech, we can only give the conclusion. "My lamp of life is nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request, then, at parting from the world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph; for as no man, who knows my motives, dare vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain undescribed, till other times, and other men can do justice to my character."

What a lesson should not this be, even to men of the most noble aspirations, and highest attainments; and what a martyr have we here to wild democratical principles! How could a heart, thus nobly glowing with such love of country and of freedom, have so strangely mistaken the tinsel glare of unsubstantial, and unattainable liberty, for that which is real, and to be enjoyed under that well balanced form of government, with which all British subjects have been, by the unseen, yet beneficent workings of Providence, so truly blessed. Who that has read of, or witnessed the turbulent ebullitions of democratic rule during the commonwealth of England, and in the United States of North America, would think of comparing the licensed fanaticism of the former, and the *liberties* taken by the infuriated mobs of that so much and ignorantly extolled Republic, with that well regulated and wisely limited freedom, which is the birthright of every inhabitant of Great Britain and Ireland?—As for Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, and the other *Irish patriots*, who figured at those periods, so calamitous to Ireland, we gladly leave them and their doings to the fertile poetical imaginings of Mr. T. Moore, and such writers.

Little or nothing is to be gained by dwelling upon the occurrences in Ireland from the year 1803, to that of 1821;

when George IV. left England, splendidly attended, for Dublin; where he was received by the strange and always thoughtless Irish, with a glow of joy, and apparent loyalty, which was then, for certain reasons, particularly agreeable to him. After spending a month in Ireland, he returned to England, on the 13th of September. He then went over to his German dominions; and the following year he visited Scotland. In these visits, his gracious manners, and his evident anxiety to please and to be pleased, easily won the good will of his subjects; as he took care to flatter, on all occasions, their vanity and self love, by adopting some of their national or popular customs. In Ireland, he wore the Order of St. Patrick, appeared highly delighted with Irish bulls, and drank healths in Irish whiskey. In Hanover, he spoke German, justly admired the German character, and wore the Guelphic Order. And in Edinburgh, he appeared in the full costume of a Highland Chieftain; wore also the Stuart tartan; gulped down cockey-leekey, and sheep's-head broth; admired the Scotch accent, and was enchanted with the dulcet tones of the bagpipe!

It had been hoped that his visit to Ireland would have had the beneficial effect of quieting the disturbances in that always distracted country; but this hope was altogether vain. The influence of his visit scarcely survived his departure; and in 1822, such had again become the disturbed state of the country, that it was found necessary to pass an "*Insurrection Act*," and to suspend the "*Habeas Corpus*." In the same year, a famine raged in the provinces of Munster and Connaught; but the sufferings it caused were greatly alleviated by the liberal contributions and subscriptions of the still, by the Irish, hated Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

Those who have thought it worth their while to accom-

pany us in our researches, will probably, by this time, be impressed by feelings not very different from our own; and be also enabled, in some degree, to comprehend the extraordinary nature of the malady with which Ireland has been so long, and is still afflicted. They will also, with us, lament that such instability in all things, misery, and suffering, should have been chiefly by unwise government, and by the deluders of her people, brought upon her. But this malady has taken so deep a root, as to make it almost hopeless, that any thing but the intervention of Divine Providence, can cure or eradicate it. It was now that, what is called, "*Catholic Emancipation*," was expected, by short-sighted mortals, to tranquillize the empire, but particularly Ireland. And those, we believe, who incautiously introduced the measure, and carried it through Parliament, hoped that it would make men of one mind, at least, upon some political subjects—more, we should not think, they ventured to look for from it.

It is now necessary to observe, cursorily, that the year 1826, was one of general depression. Money was scarce, credit low, trade almost stagnant; and the summer was marked by an unprecedented drought, which lasted from the end of April to the beginning of September. Lord Liverpool, who had been Prime Minister since the assassination of Mr. Perceval in 1812, now received that paralytic stroke, which obliged him to retire from office. His loss was severely felt, and particularly at a time when he could not be adequately replaced, as his character for uprightness gave him great influence in Parliament, as well as throughout the kingdom; and he had the power, as it were, of compressing the discordant elements, of which his ministry was composed, into a sufficiently practical union, to enable him to carry on the affairs of the state. On Lord Liverpool's retirement, Mr. Canning became Prime Minister in

1827. He, however, soon after died, and was succeeded by Lord Goodrich; who, in his turn, was succeeded by the Duke of Wellington, on the 8th of January, 1828.

Amidst these fluctuations of the cabinet, the public mind had been greatly and untowardly unsettled. The emancipation of the Roman Catholics from the disabilities by which they were precluded from sitting in Parliament, and from admission to some civil and political offices, became daily a point of more eager and anxious discussion. We can perfectly understand what it is to make liberal and just concessions to loyal fellow subjects; but to yield, through apprehension, that if what is clamorously demanded, be not conceded—though known to be detrimental to the most important interests of the country at large—another Irish rebellion would be the certain consequence, is quite another matter; and surely the statesmen, who then guided the affairs of the empire, must have been aware how easily such insensate revolts can be put down. Besides, they could surely not have been ignorant that the Pope-intruded priesthood, who continued to delude the Irish, whose ancestors had ignorantly dissented from the real, the ancient Church of Ireland, had been, in a great measure, on every former occasion, the promoters of such revolts; therefore, restoring the Popes of Rome to power in the country, which this measure would inevitably lead to, as well as to the great increase of the influence of a priesthood, completely subservient to him, was, to say the least of it, a very dangerous line of policy to pursue. This was well understood by many able men at the time; who, though they were glad to see their fellow-subjects freed from disabilities, especially in England; yet they clearly foresaw what would be the effects of granting *Catholic Emancipation*, as it was called; and the state of Ireland ever since, and in the present day,

justify them, in the resistance, they deemed it wise to make to such an unparalleled measure.

We presume not to comment upon a most extraordinary historical document, which the reader will find in the Appendix, No. 6; but, it should be remembered, that in the reigns of Elizabath, and James I., certain severe statutes, to which we have already alluded, and which were then considered necessary for the safety of the Protestants, had been enacted; and these were followed by others, nearly of the same character, in some of the subsequent reigns. The actual penalties inflicted by these laws, had however not been enforced, or had been from time to time repealed; but certain disabilities (as stated by Lord John Russell,) yet remained; and in Ireland, where the Papists greatly out-numbered the Protestants, they were considered an intolerable grievance, and readily became a plea for agitation.

The question had not, therefore, been allowed to rest; motions in favour of it were brought into the House of Commons in 1821, in 1824, and in 1828, and as often thrown out by the Lords. At last, in the beginning of the Session of 1829, the Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, took this important matter up, as a Government measure, and carried it through both Houses by great majorities; and the bill received the Royal Assent on the 13th of April, 1829.—Amazed and alarmed at what had thus come to pass, men who knew what the nature of Protestantism and Romanism really are, might well ask each other, cui bono! cui malo? But, when this *healing measure* was introduced into Parliament, too many Protestants, confiding in the judgment and discretion of his Majesty's Ministers, had become credulous and infatuated enough to believe, what was by numbers asserted,—that Popery had quite changed its character, and that its pro-

fessors were now far less tenacious, as regarded the Pope's supremacy, much more tolerant than of old; and, that no Pope would ever again, if he even had the power to give it effect, be absurd enough to issue such a bull as that which Urban the Eighth did in 1643, or, as that which excommunicated, and was intended to deprive Queen Elizabeth of her crown and dominions; and, though we do not presume to make any remarks upon the nature of the oath required, as we find by the Emancipation Act, to be taken by Roman Catholic members; (for, we willingly leave it and them to the tender mercies of Lord Stanley,) yet, the Popish bishops and professors, who were examined before the Committee of both Houses of Parliament, and before the Education Commissioners, in 1825-6, gave evidence respecting certain intolerant and persecuting laws and decretals of the Church of Rome, upon which they were examined; and, then declared that, these laws and decretals were not in force in Ireland, on the ground that they were not published there under episcopal authority; but, they readily admitted that, if they were so published or promulgated, they would then be in force, unless reclaimed against by a majority of the Roman Catholic bishops.

We find that, these bishops published a declaration in 1826, in which they denied all principles of intolerance, or persecution against Protestants; and also declared on their oaths, that they did not believe that the Pope either "*hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jnrisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.*" But, is it possible, that while these bishops were giving this evidence, and publishing this declaration, they had, as it is positively asserted, for eighteen years before —viz., from 1808, been secretly training their priests to direct the consciences of the Roman Catholics of Ireland by the *theology of Dens*, which they selected as

the best standard of their religion, a work containing, as will be found on reference to it, the very principles which they pretended to deny in their evidence, and abjured in their declaration on oath; and, which also contained one of those bulls, which they asserted had never been published in Ireland.

Is it, we again ask, possible, that after the object of the evidence which these bishops had given,—and the declaration on oath,—had been obtained by the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829, and after they had also published a pastoral address, expressive of their gratitude, loyalty, and charity, in the year 1830, that the archbishops and bishops of the Church of Rome, in the province of Leinster,—as that zealous and respected divine, the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee, asserts positively they did,—" assembled in their secret Synod, in 1831, and pronounced therein a sentence of excommunication, (this is almost too absurd to be credited,) against all their Protestant fellow-subjects—that they set up the *Theology of Dens*, as a *Conference Book*, by which they were to train their priests in their respective dioceses to direct the consciences of the Roman Catholics committed to their charge; and that in consequence of this, to supply the wants of these bishops, a new edition of this book was printed by Mr. Coyne, in 1832. At the same time a code of papal laws was published by Mr. Coyne, with the express authority and sanction of Him of Dublin, under the name and pretext of being an eighth volume of Dens—that this code of laws was well known to all the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland—that the publication of these laws was advertised in certain Journals, which are known and patronised by these bishops—that these laws have never been declaimed against by any of these bishops, and that they are, therefore, in force, on the authority of the Church of Rome, in

Ireland at this very hour. It will be seen, by referring to it, that that Code contains some as bad laws as were ever enacted in Papal General Councils, or by the Popes of Rome.—Laws of tyranny and oppression against the Roman Catholics themselves, compelling them, under the heaviest ecclesiastical censures, to obey the temporal commands of the Pope.—Laws of restitution of all forfeited property, of intolerance, persecution, and extermination against Protestants.—Laws of a seditious and treasonable tendency against the Protestant Sovereign and government of Ireland.—Laws which the Bishop of Rome dare not publish in any Papal state in Europe; one of which, Dr. Doyle admitted, that, if published in this country, it "*would upturn the very foundations of society, and drench our streets with blood.*"

These are most serious charges, which the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee brought publicly forward, against the Romish hierarchy of Ireland; and which he offered, at the time, as publicly to substantiate; and surely, in the excited state of society in that distracted country, they ought to have been at least inquired into by the proper authorities. But above all, even in the present day, they should have been equally publicly disproved before any proposal for re-establishing, under any pretence, the Pope's supremacy or authority, in the United Kingdom, was listened to. The archbishops and bishops against whom these charges are thus brought, ought assuredly, before such concessions were made, to have been summoned before one of the Houses of Parliament, and there—*Dens'*, so said to be published, *Theology* being produced—they should have been asked to avow or disavow what they are thus publicly charged with by the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee. This, for the safety of Protestants and of the Roman Catholics themselves, the country had a right to expect would have been the mode of proceeding adopted;—

in fact, so great and alarming an alteration in the British Constitution, ought not to have been made, until the people's representatives in the House of Commons, had previously ascertained the wishes of their constituents regarding it. On the contrary, the recent measure was hurried through Parliament, at the close of one of the most extraordinary sessions on record!—We may well ask, what are our *watchmen*, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church, in the House of Lords, about—are they, as when *Romish Emancipation*,—when important titles were conferred on the Romish hierarchy, asleep upon their post?—It must surely strike every enlightened, true Church of England and Ireland Protestant, that their Bishops, as legislators, and protectors of Protestantism, and Protestant interests, (as was the case when the Dissenters' Bill, and that of "Catholic Emancipation," passed through Parliament,) are wholly useless in the House of Lords—will they there again stand by, as if unconcerned, whilst men like Lord Lincoln, and some still more influential individuals—and the day for this may not be distant—are carrying measures for making a *State provision* for the Roman Catholic priesthood, if they will condescend to accept of it; —the country ought to prefer being *mis*-represented by radicals, or even avowed destructives, to men who hoist conservative colours only to betray them and the cause of *Gospel Truth*. The well wishers to the Church must, therefore, now see the necessity for there being many more Bishops immediately consecrated—working as well as superintending Bishops—whose sphere of usefulness is everywhere else but in Parliament, where they are rather injurious than useful.

The London *Morning Herald*, in commenting on a late charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, makes the following important and judicious remarks, to which we beg the reader's serious consideration; and whilst he is

perusing them, let him bear in mind, what we have given above, and what has been and still is going forward in Ireland—*now decidedly the country in Europe most under Papal rule and influence*:—"There can, indeed, be no firmer and more enduring link of connection between the mother country and the colonies,—no more certain and tried principle of cohesion amongst the various and distant parts of this empire, than the Church; and one of the most dangerous, and assuredly not the least successful, modes by which Romanism wars against that imperial integrity which is inseparably associated with Protestantism, are the Missionary labours of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, (to the support of which the *poor Irish* have just subscribed £6000.) the head-quarters of which have been craftily placed at Lyons, to secure for its operations the protection of France—a nation, though professing to be without religion internally, yet thoroughly Romanist, for obvious political reasons, externally. That the Church of Rome now, as immediately after the Reformation, is aiming at achieving either the subjugation to its apostacy, or the destruction of this empire, is an opinion which all study of the polity of that Church renders only more profound; and the immense assistance that Romanism would gain for effecting either alternative by success in our colonies is readily discernible. But it is not, perhaps, so conclusively seen that her success therein is, in fact, giving to foreign states, or rather to France, the means of convulsing or agitating those dependencies, and, consequently, through them, the British empire. But such is the case. The Romish Missions in our colonies are not directed by, nor do they yield obedience to, British subjects; they are established by foreign authority, maintained by foreign money, governed by foreign intelligence, and responsible to foreign supervision; and the foreign influence, means,

and exertions, which founded and direct them, are concentrated in France; and they are wielded, as we have lately seen at Tahiti, for the political advantage, when occasion suits, of France. And that fears of the dangerous political consequences of the missions of the Lyons Society for the Propagation of the Faith are not imaginary, we would refer to the discords its agents have already bred in Malta, in New South Wales, in Van Diemens Land, and are now fostering in Canada and India."

These are some of the workings of Popery; but surely Protestants, in every class of life, may now see, that when they were in hopes of conciliating their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, by granting, as a boon and peace-offering "Catholic Emancipation;" &c. &c. they were, in place of doing so, only unwisely and imprudently increasing the power, and, already far too great influence, of the Pope and his—be it always remembered—*intruded Agents*, the Roman Catholic priesthood, who are never at rest, but always plotting with a view to overturning our Protestant institutions in Church and State; for, both they, and their strongly deluded flocks, seem to be equally blinded, and know not, or rather will not see, that some years ago (according to what are allowed to be the best expositions of the "Book of Revelation,") "the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the throne of the Beast: and his kingdom became full of darkness," &c.; and we are also taught to believe that, the sixth angel either has, or is now about to pour out his vial upon the river Euphrates, &c.: indicating the figurative exhaustion of that river, or the preparation of a way for the kings from the rising of the sun; the going forth of three unclean spirits to the kings of the earth; and the agency of those unclean spirits in gathering the kings together to the battle of Armageddon. It is, however, necessary to observe the character given of these

unclean Spirits. We are told, parenthetically, that they are the Spirits of Demons, working signs, or performing, like the ancient Egyptians, simulating miracles. They are represented, as going forth to the kings of the earth, and as taking possession of them, for the purpose of precipitating them into a mad crusade against the Lord, and against his people. But, taking the prophecy as a whole, we can only infer from it, th t through a strenuous preaching of the doctrines of canonized dead men, and through sundry pretended miracles, wrought in confirmation of such doctrines, the kings of the earth, deceived by the politico-theological Agents of the Dragon and the Beast, and the False Prophet, will, at the time when the prophecy shall receive its accomplishment, be wrought up to a pitch of fury, which may well be compared to the rage of the ancient Demoniacs: under the Sixth Vial, the Confederacy is completed: under the Seventh Vial, the announced Battle is fought, and according to the indisputable expositions, and calculations of *Faber*, from whose "*Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*," we have been quoting, "The Times of the Gentiles" shall be fulfilled—perhaps, in a few years: at which period, the Israelites are to be restored to their own land. But as it is our firm belief—and we make this avowal fearless of the sneers or ridicule of worldly-minded men,—that this is a correct interpretation of the prophecy, the reader may imagine, how deeply, as sincere friends and well-wishers of the Irish, grieved we are to think, that they are as yet evincing so few signs of an intention to revert, like the ancestors of their Protestant neighbours, to the tenets of *Primitive Christianity*, so tenaciously and wisely clung to, as we have seen, by their enlightened forefathers.

But having above alluded to the wonderful ancient people of God, we must here observe that, that able and classic

writer D'Israeli, has most admirably expressed what we have long felt respecting them; when he says:—"Favoured by Nature and Nature's God, we produced the lyre of David; we gave you Isaiah and Ezekiel; they are our Olynthians, our Philippics. Favoured by Nature we still remain; but, in exact proportion as we have been favoured by Nature, we have been persecuted by man. After a thousand struggles; after acts of heroic courage that Rome never equalled; deeds of divine patriotism that Athens, and Sparta, and Carthage have never excelled; we have endured fifteen hundred years of supernatural slavery, during which every device that can degrade or destroy man, has been the destiny that we have sustained and baffled. The Hebrew child has entered adolescence only to learn that he was the Pariah of that ungrateful Europe that owes to him the best part of its laws, a fine proportion of its literature, all its religion. Great poets require a public; we have been content with the immortal melodies that we sung more than two thousand years ago by the waters of Babylon, and wept. They record our triumphs; they solace our affliction. Great orators are the creatures of popular assemblies; we were permitted only by stealth to meet even in our temples. And as for great writers, the catalogue is not blank. What are all the schoolmen?—Aquinas himself to Maimonides; and as for modern philosophy, all springs from Spinoza."

"But the passionate and creative genius that is the nearest link to divinity, and which no human tyranny can destroy, though it can divert it, that should have stirred the hearts of nations by its inspired sympathy, or governed senates by its burning eloquence, has found a medium for its expression, to which, in spite of your prejudices and your evil passions, you have been obliged to bow. The ear, the voice, the fancy teaming with combinations; the imagina-

tion fervent with picture and emotion that came from Caucasus, and which we have preserved unpolluted, have endowed us with almost the exclusive privilege of music; that science of harmonious sounds, which the ancients recognized as most divine, and deified in the person of their most beautiful creation. I speak not of the past, though were I to enter into the history of the lords of melody, you would find it in the annals of Hebrew genius. But at this moment even musical Europe is ours. There is not a company of singers, not an orchestra in a single capital that is not crowded with our children under feigned names, which they adopt to conciliate the dark aversion which your posterity will some day disclaim with shame and disgust. Almost every great composer, skilled musician, almost every voice that ravishes you with its transporting strains, spring from our tribes. The catalogue is too vast to enumerate, too illustrious to dwell for a moment on secondary names, however eminent. Enough for us that the three great creative minds to whose exquisite inventions all nations at this moment yield, Rossini, Mayerbeer, Mendelshon are of Hebrew race, and little do your men of fashion, your "Muscadins" of Paris, and your "Dandies" of London, as they thrill into raptures at the notes of a Pasta or a Grisi—little do they suspect that, they are offering their homage to the sweet singers of Israel!"

This, no doubt, has surprised many; but, what is there, upon which Christians of all creeds, and self-built religious theories or fancies, can reflect with greater advantage to themselves, than upon the past and present state of these wonderful and truly interesting *Hebrews*?—Canaan was to them the Land of Promise; and God having promised it, in vain was every effort made to keep them from obtaining it. Egypt was plagued; Pharaoh and his army were destroyed;

the sea opened a passage for the heirs of Promise; Jordan was driven back; and they were brought in triumph to the rest and the inheritance, which the Lord their God had given them. So it will be again. All opposition will be as vain as unreasonable. His enemies shall lick the dust. The *word* is gone out of God's mouth and shall not return; that to *Him* every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess. At present the world (though Romanists are made to believe they are now enjoying the Millennium!) seems as if it were only fit to be a possession for Satan. But, what an inheritance, what a possession will the Heathen and the uttermost parts of the earth be to the Messiah, when Paganism, and Mahomedanism, and the Man of Sin, shall perish! when the Hebrews shall come in, with the fulness of the Gentiles! when in every place, incense shall be offered unto Him, and a pure offering!—When the nations shall learn war no more! when the people shall be all holy, trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified!—then indeed, "ye shall go forth with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off."

One is naturally inclined to smile at, or ridicule, what may seem to be mere flights of imagination, or fanciful credulity; but, a lecturer on Ancient Israel—Mr. Wilson—and the Modern Nations of Europe, in speaking of the Anglo-Saxons, asks us—"if, anterior to their embracing Christianity, their physical appearance, their mental and moral character, their conduct in the public and private relations of life, their civil institutions, religious opinions, rites, and

ceremonies, and all else respecting them, be such as might reasonably be expected of Israel;—if there be no incongruity, but every correspondence in the case: surely we may say, the truth has been now arrived at, on this important, and hitherto most perplexing point; and we may then proceed to see what would be its practical inference,—which we believe to be no less important. If a young man had gone astray (and this is the lost son) what else could be done? The Father knew the marks of the Son, and has ascertained the direction in which he wandered;—all these he has clearly pointed out. Let us now see to whom they apply. The people to whom they all apply, and who are found at the time and in the place predicted, are, we may rest assured, the children of the promise; the nations that were to come to Jacob, the very seed of Abraham according to the flesh, as well as the greater part of those who are also his children by faith. We before saw that the Scripture leaves captive Israel in the north,—in the cities of the Medes, and in other places in the northern possessions of the Assyrians. Now, it is a remarkable fact, that to this very quarter are the Anglo-Saxons traced by Sharon Turner, in his valuable history of this people. Where Israel was, there the Saxons were found. Here are two puzzles which have been long enough before the historians:—Whither went Israel, the most important people as to the promises and purposes of Jehovah? Whence sprung the Saxons, the most distinguished of all the families of mankind in the providence of God; and especially as to the benefits he hath bestowed upon them, and enabled them to bestow upon others? Why should we needlessly create a difficulty, and make the Most High work contradictively, and produce miracles without a cause? Why cut off the people to whom the promises were made, and whom he said he would not utterly destroy, although he would seem

to do so? Why cut off this people, and in the same place raise up another people, from an origin altogether unknown,—answering in every respect to the character he had been so long giving to the former race; and having also, to the most minute particulars, the destiny of Israel fulfilled in them? Is this likely? Is it consistent with the wisdom, and truth, and faithfulness of God? It is not. It has nothing, either in or out of Scripture to support it; and might at once be rejected." Mr. Wilson, very properly, directs attention to Jacob blessing the two sons of Joseph, as shewn from the 15th to the 21st verse of the xlviii. chapter of Genesis, wherein it will be seen that Jacob, in spite of Joseph's remonstrances, gives an extraordinary and decisive preference to the younger brother Ephraim, saying that "his (Manasseh's) younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations." Now, according to Mr. Wilson's views, it is from Ephraim chiefly that the Anglo Saxons are descended, and in which people, the prophecy of Jacob has been fulfilled. But we must leave the lecturer to settle these points, and to ascertain how far his speculative views can be reconciled with those of the learned Dr. Gustaf Kombst, so ingeniously portrayed in his Ethnographic Map, and farther elucidated in his dissertation upon the "genus Man;" and in which he attempts to shew from what original stocks the modern nations of Europe, &c. are descended; recently published by Johnston, of Edinburgh, in his splendid and valuable Atlas.

We are well aware that by touching upon subjects such as these, or seeming to attach any importance to them, we are exposing ourselves to be considered, by the world in general, as weak and infatuated visionaries—be this as it may; we have no right to expect to meet with better treatment, or with more courtesy, than those who have ventured

to go before us in this, undoubtedly, intricate path. But, in the course of our researches, all doubts have been removed from our minds, as to what had caused the unhappy and unsettled state of Ireland, up to the period when *Roman Catholic Emancipation* was conceded, or rather—as Romanists in general, and the humbler class of Protestants are made firmly to believe—*purchased from the Government*, with the money collected by the Priests and O'Connell; with whom, it is said, the fabrication originated, for the double purpose of disgusting the latter, and plundering the former; who are now, naturally enough, led to expect, that a *Repeal of the Union* may be obtained by the same means. This is very ridiculous; but it is equally so, that it should, apparently, not have been known, when Emancipation was granted, that the *Meer Irish* were as much as ever the slaves of their wily Priests, who not only boasted of the temporal power, supremacy, and infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs, but also insisted that theirs was the only *true Church of Christ on earth*—all other Christians, throughout the world, being declared by them, to be no better than heretics, or outcasts.

But, it is requisite here to remind our readers, that it was in the year 1831, that Lord John Russell brought into Parliament the original *Reform Bill*. The plan of it appeared to most of the Members too extravagant to be seriously intended. But when, on the 2nd of March, the public learned through the newspapers what the King's Ministers were willing to do, and the King to sanction, it become obvious that nothing could be too excessive or extravagant for the appetite of the time. The whole country was in a moment in a blaze. The most ridiculous expectations were raised among all classes; and if, to all these interested hopes, be added the jealousy of the mob at all privileges not shared by themselves—the

resentment of the great majority of the nation at the disregard of their sentiments respecting the Roman Catholic Bill—and the superficial notion,—as Mr. Twiss observes in his *Life of Lord Eldon*—"that the direct representation of numbers is the principle of the elective franchise,"—we shall have a tolerably correct conception of the motives of a revolution, which, while it has trebled the corruption of the electors, has debased the tone and character of the House of Commons, and come already to be scouted at as a cheat by all classes of the nation—which, by shutting the doors of Parliament against the variety of interests and intelligences formerly returned through the close boroughs, irrespectively of local connexion, has resolved all other objects into a fierce engrossing struggle between the only two forces now left in the representation, the land and the towns—which has narrowed the Sovereign's choice of the public servants in the parliamentary offices of state to the very smallest circle of the persons having seats at their own command—which has wasted weeks and months of each Session in harangues, delivered for no other purpose than to shew the mob-constituencies that their members are astir—which has choked the progress of all practical business, and left still unsolved after years of trial, the great problem propounded by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Peers—"But, my Lords, how is the King's Government to be carried on?"

The lower classes of Irish were still, however, in their usual state of poverty, ignorance, and wretchedness—their Priests and Agitators had now, however, obtained much for themselves; but not one acre of that so much coveted land, which the poor deluded people had been made to look for, had they got, as the fruits of turbulently and clamorously standing up, as men no longer to be trifled with, to demand what, they were taught to believe, right-

fully belonged to them; the way in which their forefathers were permitted to take miserable crops out of the bits of land doled out to them, for usually very short periods, by their grinding chieftains, or Tanists, according to the old *Gavelkind process*, being carefully concealed from their knowledge, by these *disinterested Patriots*.

As if in contrast to the real miseries and sufferings of the *Meer Irish*, we find that the Protestants, in general, were then well off in all respects; were known to be an important, and, if only properly organized, a powerful body in the State, capable of achieving much towards the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire; being in possession, as proprietors or tenants, of by far the greater part of the land; and to them nearly all the best of the houses in towns and villages throughout Ireland, as well as its commerce or trade belonged, or was carried on by them. They were, as they are still, fairly educated, enlightened, and civilized. The Protestant nobility and gentry, in point of education, information, and refinements, were not surpassed by those of any nation on earth; but, unfortunately, they never sufficiently identified themselves with their *Meer Irish* tenantry or dependants, who were consequently left a prey to their real oppressors. The Protestants, at the period we are speaking of, had a vast proportion of the *Meer Irish* as servants, labourers, or as petty tenants; —the latter being regularly mustered as voters at elections, —as holding in general, and since 1793, those very small portions of the soil, which they cultivated badly and unprofitably. Few of them knew more of agriculture than that, *by over-dosing with lime*, they could get, for a certain time, good crops of grain out of a naturally rich soil, which inevitably was thus, before very long, completely exhausted and ruined; and, as for capital to carry on agricultural operations properly and profitably, they were wholly des-

titute of it. Their landlords, but particularly those persons who were called *Middlemen*, probably expected from them much higher rents for their insignificant holdings than they could possibly pay, and which had yearly become more and more subdivided, and in proportion as they were so, the more unprofitable; so that, in the end, most of the land, thus held, became of little or no value either to those poor people themselves, or to those from whom they rented it—chiefly the descendants of the unwise place-hunters of 1793, who, it may be almost said, had, by granting such leases, forfeited these lands, or made them over to the holders. Being now, however, unable to pay any rent whatever, the landlords, their agents, or the *Middlemen*, had nothing for it, but either to allow them to remain upon their miserable holdings, or to eject them; and who, whilst feelingly contemplating and pitying so fine a peasantry, reduced to such wretchedness, will presume to say—under the usually accepted ideas of the *rights* of property—that laws rendering this, in most instances, unwillingly resorted to process, more difficult to be put in force, and tardy in execution, were wisely enacted; for it had become altogether out of the question, that such completely impoverished people could any longer be considered in the light of tenants, even if they had the land they clung to nominally rent-free, with any advantage to themselves. This was the time, when so much of the land, thus recovered by landlords, was, with patches of better land, coming under the fearfully extending *con-acre system*, that they ought to have been advised by their pretending friends, to become, what they should always, if wisely governed, have been, industrious and peaceable workmen in any factories which capitalists might establish among them, or labourers for those who, from having the means, could advantageously cultivate their estates, upon modern scientific prin-

ciples, or for those, who, renting large portions of land, out of the profits arising from them—cultivated on similar principles—could afford to pay them wages sufficient to enable them to provide suitable food, raiment, and even some of the common comforts of life for themselves and families.

Proceeding, however, by ejectment, against the wretched victims of deception, and of an unwise policy, was in many cases resorted to by both Romanists and Protestants—and it is now to be regretted, that such a mode of proceeding had not then been more general—and as often as it was so, the unfortunate people were naturally rendered desperate and reckless, and easily made to believe that it was done by the latter, not so much on account of their non-payment of rent, as from the feelings of hatred still entertained against themselves, as well as their religion. Thus goaded on by religious and party feelings and prejudices, to the perpetration of outrages of all kinds; and the injustice and hardship—especially after emancipation—of paying tithes to *Heretic Parsons* being constantly impressed upon their minds, (though the agitators knew well that the landlords would before long have all the tithes to pay) as soon as by the *Emancipation* and *Reform Acts*, they were raised, we may say, to a certain degree of importance in the state, by many more of them becoming *freeholders (!)*, they thus became mere instruments in the hands of the Romish priesthood, enabling them to select, *as the people's representatives*, such men as would most readily promote their views. It was thus that Mr. O'Connell's vast influence was established, as Lord Eldon had so clearly foreseen, would be the case; (see Appendix, No. 6.) and it was also thus, in a great measure, that the lower classes of Irish were made what they now are, and are likely to continue to be, unless efficient measures be

adopted to insure tranquillity and respect for the laws; and the present untoward system of national education, (we allude not to colleges for the education of the higher classes) be abandoned, from its being a fearful leaning towards, or favouring of popery; and although *conciliation* was pushed by professors of *modern Whig principles* to the utmost extent—indeed, far beyond what was either wise or prudent; yet it completely failed in producing improvement in their ideas or condition; and the beneficial results so confidently looked for by the *well-meaning men* who obtained for them the *healing measures*, are not as yet perceptible—the same implacable hatred is nourished against those whom they are taught to look upon as their oppressors—the same ill-will exists towards their *Saxon* fellow-subjects; so that they are, in fact, become more than ever hostile to British connection; and, it will surely be admitted, more than ever, the ready and dangerous tools for factious, discontented, and selfish men to work with.

We have been closely watching events; but the London "*Evening Mail*" of the 16th of December, 1846, delineates but too faithfully the awful state into which Ireland has at length been brought, by what we have above alluded to. It is, we fear, now far too late to expect any good to arise from a *poor-rate* in Ireland,—it ought to have been established long ago,—or from almost any measure which ordinary politicians, under the influence of party and party feelings, will venture to devise. Under existing circumstances, Ireland cannot bear the pressure of English poor-laws. She must have time, under a humane yet resolute administration of public affairs, before a *suitable* poor-rate should be thought of. We have, indeed, reached that fearful crisis, which some despised, *because military* politicians had long foreseen—may God, in his mercy, avert deserved

evil from us: but we can only look forward, in fear and trembling, to what we conceive to be, "*the beginning of the end:*" the "*Evening Mail*" says:—

"We are only now entering on the winter. Before us lie, in all probability, four months of cold, wet, and inactivity; four months in which the ordinary duties of labour will be half suspended, and the average privations of poverty doubled. What is to become of Ireland during this season? We have reached that which some persons call a crisis. It is not merely a crisis, it is, unless we devise some extraordinary remedy, destined to be a normal state. Henceforward, unless the Government and Legislature hit upon a policy such as never has yet been attained in Ireland—the history of that country is to be one of confusion, anarchy, bloodshed, and confiscation. Human beings dying of famine in the midst of extravagant presentments and unparalleled wages—men wailing for starvation, and yet shrinking from the proffered wages of the landowner and the farmer; clamouring for bread, and expending its price upon fire-arms—imposture and necessity—conspiracies against the very existence of property, and conspiracies on the part of property to elude its duties: all these things crowd together on the senses, and startle less by the anomalousness of their present combination than by the certainty of their continuance. For who is to put an end to them? What reason is there for expecting that, having once begun, they should ever cease? Does any one of the leading or ostensible powers in Ireland seem capable of arresting the progress of its disease? Is there an Irishman who is able to explain all the anomalies in the condition of his country? Has any one yet satisfactorily reconciled the inconsistency which this autumn has exhibited most glaringly—viz., that of the abundant exportations from Ireland, and the non-payment of rent in

Ireland? We can understand how the cottier must have been affected by the potato rot. But how, except indirectly, this can have made the superior middleman and comfortable farmer suffer, we do not see. Yet from this class have proceeded remonstrances and refusals of rent as urgent as from others. They have been exporting abundantly too, and selling fairly, if not dearly, in the English market. Yet now they are petitioners to the English people for what, under these circumstances, must be called superfluous alms. Again, is there any one who will tell us what the general purchase of weapons throughout the country means? Does it augur an insurrection against the Government, or against the landlords? or an outbreak against the Board of Works? Are rents to be formally repealed by Captain Rock, or the Union by Smith O'Brien? or is there to be a general parliament of the Irish labourers for the purpose of extorting the highest payable wages, and yielding the smallest possible quantity of work?

"Whichever it be, things cannot long go on as they now are. England cannot be much longer the milch cow of the empire. It is no joke finding weekly wages for 300,000 heads of families. Were the work immediately reproductive, were it safe as an investment of capital—still the exigencies of our own countrymen would not warrant such a prodigal expenditure. The potato rot is not peculiar to Ireland. Distress is not confined to Clare, Galway, or Limerick. Stockport and Huddersfield, Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, have presented cases of suffering as acute—although their expression may not have been so boisterous—as those of Leinster or Connaught. Here we have to provide for the accidents to which a manufacturing and mercantile, more even than an agricultural, population is ever subject. And we *do* provide for them. The land provides for the poor. It may not do so in the

best way conceivable, nor according to the original design of our Poor Law. Still the principle remains in force, that property should provide for poverty, ability for incapacity, profitable labour for involuntary idleness. Ireland has no organized means of alleviating the pressure of penury, or the wants of infirmity; therefore she appeals to England. But is it fair that we, who have undertaken this burden to relieve our own poor, should be saddled with the taxation necessary to afford eleemosynary aid to a whole nation, which is poor just in proportion as it has been improvident?"—this is likewise the tone assumed by the "*Times*," in all its observations upon Irish affairs—according to its views, a *Poor-rate*, as in England, is the only effectual cure for all Ireland's maladies!

SECTION VIII.

"Ignorance is the pedestal of pride; throw down the basis, and the figure falls."

We ought, perhaps, in concluding the last section, to have brought our labours to a close; but we commenced these researches in the hope of being able to ascertain the causes of the extraordinary and unparalleled state of wretchedness and suffering to which the great mass of the Irish have been reduced; and we now—imperfectly as our task has been performed—leave it to our readers to decide how far we have been successful. We, however, neither talk of nor dream of overturning Romanism—evidently the chief cause—by force of arms, by parliamentary enactments, nor by persecution in any shape. The only weapon or means we would use in combating its deluded upholders, and in opposing its errors and corruptions, would be the *sword of the Spirit*, or *Word of God.*

Though many Protestants, as we have seen, at the time when "Emancipation" was granted, were led to imagine that popery had changed its character, papists themselves, at least their priests, knew well that it had not done so, and that, in all parts of the world, their creed was still the same; for do they not continue to proclaim their determination to maintain the power, and authority, and supremacy of the Pope of Rome, the worship of the Virgin Mary, the use of images, relics, indulgences, penances, and the doctrine of Purgatory, of Transubstantiation, and

of seven Sacraments— in short, the creed of Pope Pius IV., as it is set forth in Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, published only a few years ago. With this so publicly avowed to the world, how was it possible to expect, notwithstanding what was at the time declared on oath by the Irish Roman Catholic bishops to the contrary, that they and their priests would ever relax in their endeavours to establish the Pope's supremacy throughout the empire, or to do their utmost, so that their church—according to their notions, the only true Church of Christ, may supplant that established in England and Ireland; and we may add, that in Scotland also? But how could men—many of them highly educated and enlightened men, be so strangely infatuated as to imagine that "*Emancipation,*" followed by the *Reform Acts,* and an *Act sanctioning the Pope's supremacy in spiritual matters only,* which tend so immensely to increase the power and influence of the Romish priesthood, would be the means of either quieting or satisfying the great mass of the deluded Irish, and of causing Romanists and Protestants, situated as we have shewn they have been for ages with respect to each other, to live together in harmony!

But the leaven of Romanism, as clearly shewn in the following letter, is working, as usual, and will continue to work; and the effects it will produce must appear sooner than mankind, in general, expect.—Will the bishops of the Churches of England and Ireland passively await the results?—There is a spirit arising from seeming apathy or indifference on the part of our *watchmen,*—a spirit which may yet shake the world. Well may it be asked—What has Protestant Britain to say to the bishop of Rome and to Romanism, or even to Italian politics, farther than to shew the world that we, as a great and warlike nation, are prepared for coming events?

"Diplomatic Intercourse with the Court of Rome.

"Sir,

I beg permission to say a few words on the letter of your correspondent "Ignotus," dated the 20th ulto. and published in your paper of the 23rd.

He states the following three difficulties which lie in the way of the establishment of diplomatic intercourse with the Roman Government:—

"*Imprimis.* Up to this hour the legitimate title of Queen Victoria to the throne of Britain is unrecognized by the Prince Prelate of Rome.

"2. Up to this hour the sentences of excommunication and deposition put forth by the predecessors of Pius IX. against the Queen of England and all her adherents are unrevoked by him.

"3. Up to this hour the bull *in cœna Domini*, put forth by Paul V., whereby our Queen, our clergy, our nobles, our whole people, (excepting only the Pope's adherents among them) are excommunicated and anathematized for disobedience to the Roman Pontiff, which sentence of anathema is appointed to be renewed afresh every Maundy Thursday, is uncancelled, unrepudiated by Pius IX."

I will comment upon these three items *seriatim* as they stand:—

1. As the Crown of England receives or holds no avowed official communication whatever from or with the Roman Government, it is impossible that any solemn official recognition of the British Sovereign can have been made by the Roman Court. But abundant evidence can be shewn of such recognition by Rome of the House of

Hanover as the circumstances of the case rendered possible. I need refer to only one fact, which you will find in Canning's *Speeches*, vol. 6, p. 157. He there states that the Pope wrote a letter to George IV. announcing his elevation to the Papal throne. The Attorney and Solicitor-General of the day, Gifford and Copley, gave their opinion that no answer could be returned to that communication, nor to the letter accompanying it from the Cardinal Secretary of State to Mr. Canning, without danger of incurring the penalties of *præmunire*, under the statute 5th Elizabeth, chap. 1. s. 2. By the by, it is, perhaps, important to observe, that this statute is repealed by statute 9 and 10 Victoria, c. 59.

Now here we have a direct recognition of George IV. by the Pope. It is surely not reasonable to expect more, when the receipt even of those letters was not acknowledged except by Mr. Canning's speech in the House of Commons. (p. 160.)

I will now proceed to the second difficulty.

The Queen does not derive her title to the throne from Queen Elizabeth, and therefore the sentences in question cannot affect her. It is, moreover, clear that those sentences, so far as they pronounced deposition against Queen Elizabeth, were grounded on her alleged illegitimacy by reason of the invalidity of the divorce of Queen Catherine, and consequently of the marriage of Anne Boleyn. All this is quite obsolete, and cannot affect the relative positions of Queen Victoria and Pius IX.

We come to the third difficulty, arising from the bull *in cœna Domini.*

Now what is that instrument? It is a spiritual denunciation of spiritual penalties against what the Church of Rome holds to be a spiritual offence, *i. e.* separation from its

communion. How can this bull affect diplomatic, political, and purely temporal intercourse with the Court or Government of Rome?

We accordingly find that this supposed difficulty does not prevent the Protestant Courts of the Continent from sending to and receiving from Rome diplomatic missions.

"Ignotus" requires from the Pope, as a condition previous to official intercourse between the Courts of St. James's and the Vatican, that he should acknowledge that withdrawal from obedience to the Roman Pontiff is sanctioned by the 3rd General Council. This seems to be somewhat unreasonable. The proposition in question is a purely ecclesiastical one, affecting the position of the Church of England with regard to the Church of Rome, but having no bearing on the relation between the Governments of England and of Romagna, as two Powers having interests in common of a purely temporal nature.

No one in his senses can recommend that the Queen should do any act implying a recognition of the spiritual supremacy of Rome. No one talks even of a *concordat*. The only question is as to intercourse between the two Governments as such. The question is a practical one,—whether we are to remain any longer without direct diplomatic influence at a Court where all the most important affairs of the south of Europe are now centred? Shall we not by so doing give an undue share of influence to France over the affairs of Italy? Would not the presence at Rome of an English mission at this moment materially strengthen the hands of the Roman Government against the encroachments of Austria, and tend to produce confidence and quiet among the people? Would not the unobtrusive practical and business-like advice of an experienced English statesman be useful to the Roman Minis-

ters in many ways, and tend to maintain tranquillity, and to promote real improvement in Rome and in Italy?

I submit these questions to all unprejudiced and practical men, and

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. B."

Lincoln's-Inn, Aug. 28, 1847.

We regret being obliged to revert to such subjects; but we must never forget, what was the fate of that unhappy people, the Albigensis of the south of France, whose history is written in letters of blood; whose preachers were in England as early as 1166, and who were actually swept away from the face of the earth, in a crusade against them, excited by Pope Innocent III., chiefly because, at a Conference held at Montreal, in the year 1206, they maintained,—as Allix has shewn:—

"I. That the Church of Rome was not the holy Church, nor the spouse of Christ, but that it was a Church which had drunk in the doctrine of devils.

"II. That the Mass was neither instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but a human invention.

"III. That the prayers of the living are unprofitable for the dead.

"IV. That the purgatory maintained in the Church of Rome is no better than a human invention to satisfy the avarice of priests.

"V. That Saints ought not to be prayed unto.

"VI. That transubstantiation is a human invention and erroneous doctrine; and that the worshipping of the bread is manifest idolatry.

"That, therefore, it was necessary to separate from the Church of Rome, in which the contrary was said and taught; because one cannot assist at the Mass, without

partaking of the idolatry there practised, nor expect salvation by any other means than by *Jesus Christ*, nor transfer to creatures the honour which is due to the Creator; nor say, concerning the bread, that it is God, and worship it as such, without incurring the pain of eternal damnation, because idolaters shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven." For all these things, which they asserted publicly, they were hated and persecuted to death —these to Roman Catholics, as also to Tractarians, or Ultra-High-Churchmen, are unpalatable truths; but the latter have now contrived to bring matters, by their sophistical arguments, and their popish doings, to such a pitch, that they have caused too many, with the most laudable and best intentions—those of wishing to belong to the *real Catholic Church*,—to embrace Romanism, with all its corruptions and sinful inventions; and thus to place themselves, under the influence of *strong delusion*, in a state which we, as *Evangelical Christians*—which we have a just right to style ourselves—can only look upon, as one of *fearful peril*.—This is, however, what we should look for towards the close of "the Times of the Gentiles."

But ought not every loyal British subject, and every well-wisher to Ireland—amongst whom we trust in being reckoned —to offer up fervent prayers that the delusions, under which so many of their Irish brethren have so long laboured, may be removed, and that they may again become Christians, such as a considerable part of the inhabitants of Britain, and all the Irish were, at the period when teachers of *pure, primitive Christianity* went forth, confident in divine aid and protection, from Ireland and Iona, to enlighten and civilize the surrounding nations. To embrace, or rather to revert to genuine Christianity like this, if the *whole truth* were only made known to them, especially in

the *Irish language*, may we not hope that the Irish would be favourably inclined, though their deeply rooted, but groundless prejudices, might cause them, for a time, to object to re-entering the, beyond doubt, ancient Church in which their forefathers worshipped; to whom, alas! at the time of their falling away, the words of our Saviour might have been as well applied as they were to the Jews:—"If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes."

We have, however, already seen for what reasons, as well as the manner in which, at the appointed time, the Reformation was brought about. We have also seen that Henry VIII.—little as may be thought of it in the present day as it was done by him,—had the important question put to the Bishops, to the Universities, Chapters, Monks, Friars, &c. throughout the kingdom,—"Whether the Bishop of Rome has in the *Word of God* any greater jurisdiction in this Realm than any other foreign Bishop?"—which question was answered in the negative. Henry then had his supremacy duly acknowledged by Parliament, and by all the civil as well as the ecclesiastical authorities. Upon this being duly arranged, he had the Pope's assumed supremacy and jurisdiction in England, and soon after also in Ireland, suppressed. We likewise find that, no changes were made in the national religion, in the reign of Elizabeth, without the sanction of Parliament. Even in Ireland, in January 1560—Sussex being then Lord Deputy—when Elizabeth's supremacy was to be established there, and when the *Act of Uniformity* was determined upon, the statutes for both purposes, were, before receiving the Royal assent, duly enacted by a Parliament held in Dublin. And again in the reign of Charles II., when another *Act of*

Uniformity was required, after Cromwell's and the Commonwealth's doings, it was, as of old, sanctioned by Parliament. It must therefore be a comfort to all sincere Christians, in these fearful times, throughout the empire, to find that, if any change is to be made in the religion, in the Services, or Liturgy, &c. of the Church of England and Ireland, neither the Bishops, nor any body of the Clergy have the power to make it. Thus, no alteration can be made but by an Act of Parliament, and by the Act receiving the Royal assent—that is, the alteration is made upon *National responsibility!*

Our attention has been drawn to an object of great importance, by a report made by the Committee of "*The Irish Society,*" to a meeting held on the 9th of May, 1844, which gives us most welcome and valuable information:—It expresses the Committee's thankfulness for the support they have received, and their gratification that their labours were likely to be materially assisted by the establishment of an *Irish Professorship,* and several *scholarships* in the University of Dublin. As to the details of their operations it is not for us to enter into them; but every thing appears to be going on favourably as to the *Irish Schools,* although the Agents of the Society have had much to contend with from the opposition of the Romish priesthood, and the vast influence exercised, particularly by the Jesuits, over the minds of all classes of the people.

At this meeting, Mr. Finch, M.P., stated, that "the Society was flourishing in its operations, and that it had been the instrument of converting many of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from their errors. That the only panacea for the evils of Ireland was the instruction of her people in the principles of truth. In this they had succeeded to a considerable extent; for, notwithstanding the

influence of the Romish priests, there existed and flourished a Christian Protestant spirit among the Irish people, that could never be extinguished, even if popery were in the ascendant. They saw the unbounded ambition of the Church of Rome—that her object was to subjugate England, which was once her brightest ornament; and her priesthood would never rest, but would continue all their efforts until they could make England Roman Catholic. That was their object, but the *Divine Truth* was working on the other hand, and foiled all their efforts. The unity of the English and Irish can only be maintained by the evangelizing of the latter: indeed, without this, there can be but faint hopes of our being able to maintain the union of Great Britain and Ireland, at least, in peace and advantage to either."

At the same meeting, Viscount Bernard, M.P., (who is now standing consistently forward to prevent the landed interest of Ireland, in her present impoverished and wretched state, from being subjected to charges, which they neither can nor ought, at least for some time to come, to be made to bear,) observed that, "being a resident in Ireland, he had had many opportunities of seeing and knowing what the *Irish Society* had done in the promulgation of Christian principles, and he was glad in having this occasion to express his testimony of the value of its effects in that country. Of all the Societies that had been established for promoting the knowledge of the *Gospel* throughout the land, there was not, in his opinion, one that had done so much good, and was calculated to achieve as much as the Society they were asked that day to support. A great ignorance existed in this country with respect to the real state of Ireland, and the cause of discontent there; but he would

tell them, that the cause of this discontent was owing to the ignorance of the people, which was chiefly caused by the government of the Church of Rome. If they wished to govern Ireland, and to solve the problem which had puzzled statesmen, with respect to the condition of that country—if they wished to make Ireland happy—the people peaceful, well conducted and more civilized, they might depend upon it, that the only principle to adopt was, to give the people instruction based upon the *Word of God.* At present there were two millions of persons in Ireland who did not understand any other than the Irish language; and thousands of others could speak English only in reference to matters of business. The object of this Society was to teach the *Divine Truth* in their own language; for it was easier to do that than to teach them a new tongue. And having witnessed the impression made upon the people by the agents of the institution, and which was remarkable and sincere, he could not help recommending, with all his heart, the Society's claims to support."

These, the reader may have perceived, are, to a certain extent, almost the same conclusions to which, as far as the religious notions of the Irish are concerned, we have come, after long and laborious researches. He surely remembers what were the direful effects of Queen Elizabeth's attempts to force upon the Irish the Liturgy of the Church of England in Latin and English, languages which they did not understand; whilst, by sad infatuation, the language which they best understood, was, at that important crisis, totally neglected by the government; and all of us, in the present day, are reaping the fruits of such a mistaken line of acting. It was a farther attempting to carry out that unwise policy, which had been already evinced in the Act of Henry VIII., for the encouragement of "the

English order, habit and language;" and which aimed at the improvement of the Irish by forcing them to the use of a language and customs that were repugnant to them, and foreign to the affections of their hearts. Had the *ready compliance* of their Bishops with the Reformation, and *the general acquiescence of the people in the liturgical changes introduced by it*, been strengthened by friendly counsels, addressed to them in the language which they loved; and had they enjoyed the use of prayer, and opportunity of hearing the *Word of God* read and preached among them in that tongue, the Pope would have found little space left in after times for again intruding his wily and rapacious agents upon Ireland. His and their alarm is now, however, great; for they see that the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures (the authenticity of the English version of which they and Tractarians always take care to pretend to question) in *Irish* among the people, has been productive of much good, which the Pope calls evil, as it is enlightening the ignorant, and enabling them to discern between the divine truths of Christianity and the superstitious and often childish traditions and observances of the Romish Church; and great numbers have already by this means been led to separate from the *New Connection*, established among them by the Romish party in Elizabeth's and James' reign, and to return to *the Church of their forefathers and early Saints; to enjoy in its communion the privileges of pure worship, and sound doctrine, and religious liberty bequeathed to them by the first planters of Christianity in their native land.*

But such a simple, yet efficacious plan, as that above suggested, for tranquillizing, promoting the welfare, and freeing, at least from surreptitious religious thraldom, the great mass of the Irish people, would, of course, never

enter the head of a modern political economist—he would harangue for hours upon the march of intellect, and probably the "scientific developement of mysteries," as the result of the mind being unshackled by prejudices, or contracted by a religious education of any kind; and of the benefits conferred, even upon a starving and deluded people, by the diffusion among them of, what he would term, sound liberal principles; such as too many of these *luminaries* do their utmost every where to disseminate, and thereby to lead astray a vast proportion of mankind, and to leave them, as in Ireland, an easy prey to the machinations of wily, selfish agitators; and this we fear, unless some as decided as necessary steps are taken by Government to prevent it, is likely to be their unhappy fate until "the *times of the Gentiles*" be fulfilled.

The idea of thus instructing, enlightening, and making known to the great mass of the Irish, *the Word of God*, may, no doubt, at first, startle many timid persons, and cause them to declare that the scheme is altogether so preposterous, that no man of common sense, much less the members of a Government, some of whom may have had a share in bringing round "*Catholic Emancipation*," would ever for an instant listen to it, much less dream of sanctioning or promoting. What! dare to "beard the lion in his den!"—the Pope and the Romish priesthood in Ireland!—the idea is too absurd to be worthy even of a moment's consideration. But let these timorous declaimers, already terrified at finding that the Irish have been excited to such a pitch, as even to demand a Repeal of the Union, only attentively peruse what we shall lay before them in the *Appendix to this work, No.* 1.—that is to say, a copy of the *Austrian Ecclesiastical Law;* as well as the *French Ecclesiastical Code,* or *Concordat,—Appendix, No. 2,*—

which the emperor Napoleon negociated with the Pope. We shall likewise give in the *Appendix, No.* 3, a document which clearly shews up the doings of the Pope's intruded priesthood in Ireland; and if these authentic documents are only made sufficiently known, the effects which will certainly be produced by their contents upon men's minds, throughout the empire, must be attended with important results.—But, all this time, what is to become of Ireland and the Irish?

Before we proceed farther, allow us to ask—and it is but fair to do so—What is the reason that the Irish Established Church, the *temporalities* of which are said to amount to about £552,753. per annum (and this, we suppose, does not include the large sums which some bishops and other Church dignitaries are constantly in the habit of receiving from individuals, in the shape of fines for the renewal of leases of church lands, &c.) has hitherto done so little towards, and been so unsuccessful in *evangelizing,* in educating *evangelically,* or otherwise, or in enlightening the "*Meer-Irish?*" It is an immense establishment, enjoying vast revenues, the amount of which, it would seem, even Parliament has no right to inquire into. These revenues, as in England, are very unequally divided among a priesthood who, from the *dissenting* of so many of the Irish, in Elizabeth's and James's reigns, from the ancient Church of their forefathers, have, to this day, the cure of souls of only a certain proportion of the — say — three millions of Protestants scattered over Ireland; and it should be remembered, that from this number of Protestants, should be deducted the numerous bodies of Presbyterians, Wesleyans, &c.; who, we fear, do not for a moment imagine that they stand, in the presence of God, as Korah and his company did of old. Now, in fairness, we ought also to copy the following important letter, given

in the London "*Evening Mail*," of the 1st of February, 1847;—and this is not a solitary instance:—

"THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM AND ITS REVENUES.

"SIR,

"Some days ago there appeared in your columns a letter signed "Syncellus," principally on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Commission, but touching incidentally on the revenues of some of the English bishoprics. The admirable manner in which your correspondent handled the topic which it was the main object of his communication to elucidate, leaves little or nothing additional to be said on *that* matter; and I trust that his communication has been under the eye of Lord John Russell, who cannot fail to be deeply impressed with the important truths it contains. Another subject, however, of almost equal moment with that so forcibly discussed by "Syncellus" is also open to examination, and that is, the *source* of some of our episcopal and ecclesiastical revenues, their nature, and the mode of their application; and the consequent consideration whether those revenues are equitably appropriated in a manner consistent with the spirit of the law which regulates ecclesiastical property, and with the future interests of the Church.

"Although I feel conscious of my personal incompetency for the due performance of the task, I will, if allowed, Sir, by you, endeavour to throw a little light upon a subject which has hitherto most strangely escaped public attention; and, as in the course of my observations I shall have to allude to individuals, I beg, in the first instance, most emphatically to disclaim all personal motives. I shall certainly avoid all personal imputations, for my business is with a system, not with individuals.

"Your correspondent "Syncellus" states, with perfect accuracy, that the revenues of the Bishop of Durham, supposed to be adjusted by the terms on which he accepted the see to yield the annual amount of £8,000, have, in fact, in each yearly instance, considerably exceeded that limit. They have so, indeed—in some cases most enormously; and if there be any Parliamentary process by which the net income of the bishopric since the accession of the present incumbent can be arrived at, I imagine that one of the most curious documents that ever issued out of the office of the Queen's printer will be made public—particularly as demonstrating the marvellous adaptation of the machinery of the Ecclesiastical Commission for making a bad bargain! And I take the case of the see of Durham from among others to elucidate the fact.

"The revenues of the bishopric up to the death of Van Mildert, the last bishop, had been principally derived from the *surface* rental of the lands belonging to the see; the amount of that rental was considerable enough, probably upwards of 20,000*l.* per annum, or an amount which, deducting the commutation money paid to the Ecclesiastical Commission under the present arrangement—viz. 13,000*l.*—would leave an annual residue of about 8,000*l.*, to which amount the value of the bishopric under the new system was intended and ought to approximate. But it is to be presumed that under this arrangement the value of the *mineral* property of the bishopric was never considered, at least by one party to the bargain;* and, accordingly, we find that the vast tract of coal lying under the episcopal estates, untouched, or nearly so, at that time, remained at the disposal of the incoming Bishop, should circumstances arise to develope its immense value. Those circumstances did arise, and very shortly, and are now in operation. Ten or fifteen years ago the enterprise of capitalists was directed

to the opening out of the Durham coal field to an extent that ultimately bordered on a mania. Coal was leased at enormous rents wherever it was known to exist, and of course the Church brought its wares to market as well as individuals; so that I am within the mark in stating that the income of the present Bishop of this diocese has never been less than double the amount estimated by the Commission; it has sometimes been treble, and all from the sale or lease of the coal under the surface of the landed property of the see.

"It has been the same with the dean and chapter property of the diocese; the same with the mineral property contained under glebe lands held by individuals. 'Tis all in every part.' Far be it from me, however, to blame these Right Rev. and Rev. personages for taking things as they found them: they would not have been wise in their generation had they done otherwise. But I denounce the system as a spoliation of the Church itself. I stigmatize it as an 'appropriation clause' of the worst description; for it confiscates what ought to be the permanent property of the Church as an institution to the emolument of those who are only its transient servants, entitled in reward for their services to the usufruct only, not the fee-simple of that property. It is a payment to them out of the Church's capital, not of the temporary interest of that capital, which is all that fairly belongs to the temporary incumbent.

"Now, I appeal with the utmost confidence to that devoted champion of the Church, Sir R. H. Inglis, to put a legislative extinguisher upon this abomination. That hon. and unctuous baronet knows right well that no bishop, priest, nor deacon can alienate to his own use the landed property of the Church; he knows, too, equally well that neither can he appropriate the value of timber growing

upon it. In each case, if sale be necessary, the proceeds go, *not into the pocket of the holder of the benefice, but into the public funds*, and the interest thereon only accrues to the incumbent—a wise and salutary regulation, the necessity and justice of which are obvious. Why, then, I ask the hon. baronet, should an exception be made as regards coal, lead ore, and other mineral subsoils *under* the property so secured to the Church in perpetuity? There is even less reason why they should be excepted than timber from the law above cited, inasmuch as timber may be reproduced, but minerals cannot.

"Exception may be taken to this view of the matter, on the ground that the supply of coal is so inexhaustible that practically ecclesiastical posterity will sustain no injury from the continuance of the system. The proposition is fallacious in point of fact, as well as vicious in principle, for ecclesiastical posterity *will* in some cases sustain injury, and that in some at no distant period. For instance, let us take a case (not an imaginary one I assure you) in which a body of capitalists applies to the incumbent of a glebe under which coal exists in extent worth 20 years' purchase—as long probably as his own tenure of the living may endure—the said living at the time of his entering upon it being worth 200*l.* per annum. Well, a bargain is struck for the lease of the coal on terms which put 1,000*l.* a year additional into the pocket of the lucky lessor, the incumbent; or, in other words, the value of the living is increased from 200*l.* to 1,200*l.* per annum *as long as the coal lasts*, probably not more than 20 or 25 years, if the area of the coal field is small, but no longer. That being exhausted, the value of the living reverts to its original amount, viz., to 200*l.*

"Now, in this case, it is clear that an individual reaps *all* the benefit, leaving his successors no chance whatever

of gleaning the least advantage from the discovery which enabled him to accumulate a fortune; for the goose that laid the golden egg has been killed, and there is this additional hardship in the case so far as future holders of the benefice are concerned,—from the circumstance of a colliery having been established within its spiritual jurisdiction, the duties of the clergyman have been augmented in a tenfold ratio by the increase of the population. Those familiar with the characteristics of the colliery district in the north will acknowledge that there is no exaggeration in this statement, but rather the reverse. To meet the necessity for, and adequately remunerate the application of, this increased or additional aid, no fund has been provided out of those resources which ought legitimately to have been reserved for the purpose. Had the total amount—viz. 20,000*l*—received and pocketed by the one fortunate incumbent who happened to be in possession of the glebe when its mineral wealth was developed—had this sum been funded, as I contend under a due administration of ecclesiastical law it should have been, at the end of the period to which the duration of the coal was limited there would have been an accumulated capital the interest on which, added to the original value of the living would have yielded a very ample annual amount in perpetuity to the benefice; while under the system which, I hope, I have succeeded in making clear to your readers it may, before even a successor be appointed to the lucky man who has monopolized the lucre, with increased duties and tenfold responsibilities revert to its original annual pittance of income.

"Now, Sir Robert Harry, I must really have an answer to the question, whether this is not in plain English ROBBING THE CHURCH? At all events, having brought the subject to this point, I think, Sir, I may safely leave

it there for the present until we see whether the hon. baronet or any other church champion take up the gage.

"In conclusion, I again beg to disavow all personal feeling against the Bishop or any other clergyman in the diocese of Durham. It was absolutely impossible for me to lay bare the system without allusion to individuals who have made use of and profited by it; and, in such a case, I am aware of the difficulty of steering clear of offence. In all sincerity, however, I repeat that none was intended by me, more especially towards the Bishop of Durham, than whom a more amiable man, or one more justly popular as its spiritual superior, never held the bishopric.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"PHILO-SYNCELLUS.

"*London, January*, 1847."

We are aware of the plausible argument maintained by many, that if the clergy of the Established Church of England and Ireland, had not *high preferment*, as well as means sufficient to enable them to live like gentlemen, and to associate with the first in the land, to look forward to, no men of suitable education would enter it as a *profession*—but this, we fear, is ticklish ground for us to tread upon; and we shall, therefore, only remind our readers that the *Men of God*, who went forth from Ireland and Iona, in the true spirit of Christianity, resolved "to take up their cross and to follow Christ," their great example, and to "spend and be spent" in their endeavours to convert the nations held in the iron grasp of heathenism, and particularly of Druidism, which, as we have seen, had as strong a hold upon the imaginations of the great mass of mankind at that period, as Popery has had since about the year 604, were highly educated and enlightened men. There would,

however, we conceive, be no use of talking of such a thing, or supposing, even if practicable, that a part of the means enjoyed by the, hitherto *unsuccessful*, Established Church in Ireland, (we speak not, from want of information respecting it, of the ample means enjoyed by Trinity College, Dublin,) might, perhaps, under the auspices of Government, and upon its responsibility, be judiciously appropriated for purposes of education: at all events, the system of *national education*, now pursued at vast expense in Ireland, and which satisfies no one, seems to have only met the views of its promoters. We should, therefore, rejoice to see it were overturned; and that, in future, no questions were allowed to be asked, as to whether children, or young persons, sent to be educated in the *national schools*, belonged to parents who were members of the Established Churches of England and Ireland, or Scotland —whether they were Romanists or any other class of Dissenters—*instruction*, without regard to religious creeds or professions, (*which it is the imperative duty of parents and pastors elsewhere to inculcate,*) should be the *sole object* of the teachers, who ought not—and this would only be fair to all parties—to be interfered with by the clergy of any denomination of Christians. For, we may be assured, that the day of sectarian ascendancy is rapidly passing away.— In England; the Church-building associations, the large subscriptions contributed lately by members of the Established Church, for the support of schools to be conducted upon their own principles—in Scotland, the self-supporting sections of Presbyterianism—in Ireland, what will inevitably result from the workings of "the appropriation clause," are all movements on the *voluntary principle*, which is rapidly gaining ground, though the so differently thinking movers may not be aware of it. In these national schools, when it is desired, the pupils should

be taught to read and write Irish as well as English. Several clergymen of the Irish Established Church, from seeing the vast advantages attending it, have already acquired a knowledge of the Irish tongue, and are now preaching *the Gospel* in it, with effect, to their too long benighted and neglected countrymen—this is a step in the right direction.

But we are also delighted to find the Irish language is exciting much interest as well as curiosity in England and Scotland; to grammarians and lexicographers it will afford a valuable mine of etymological wealth, and will supply the roots for many words which have baffled inquiry hitherto in the most ancient as well as the modern languages of Europe; also the meaning of numerous names of the prominent geographical features of Europe—the promontories, estuaries, rivers, mountains, cities, &c.: indeed, we must again refer to Sir William Betham's work, from which we have already made some extracts, for proof of this assertion, where the reader will find many names collated and explained in a manner which clearly and satisfactorily demonstrates them to be Irish. That the similarity could have been the effect of chance, appears to us not only improbable, but altogether impossible. We ought here, however, to observe that according to Dr. Gustaf Kombst's so much admired theory, who asserts that, " all European languages can be traced back to the Sanscrit as an approximate common source, from which their peculiarities receive a proper explanation, and in which a solution is found for every phenomenon, to elucidate which there is no clue in any other language." (" *Similarity of language in two or more tribes or nations, induces only a supposition in favour of the same origin.*") Now, according to Sir William Betham's theory, the ancient Irish were a colony of Phenicians. If his surmise in this respect be correct, the names of the

promontories, &c., were Phenician, and should not be called Irish, as they must have been given before the Phenicians could—as he asserts they did—have settled in Ireland. How then are we to account for what is distinctly stated in the ancient Irish chronicles, annals, and even in tradition, as to the Milesian-Irish being the descendants of *Gadelas*, unless we are to conclude that he was of the same ancient stock from whom the Phenicians were descended. —We cannot reject the accounts so circumstantially handed down to us of the Milesian invasion and conquest of Ireland—their going to Ireland, and their objects in so doing are clearly set forth; and although they, very likely, spoke the same language as the Phenicians, they appear to have been a tribe then quite distinct from the maritime and commercial Phenicians. This is our opinion of the matter, and we trust it may not be essentially different from that formed by Sir William Betham—we, at all events, cannot admit the Milesian-Irish to have been, in the plain acceptation of the term, a Phenician colony.

But, it may here be asked, if the Romish priesthood, during the last fifty years—that is, since the establishment of the College of Maynooth, have been improved in sound learning; and made meeker and better servants of Christ, than their predecessors in Ireland were, when they had to seek for education in foreign countries—have they been taught in that seminary to be more attentive to what are their duties as Christian ministers; and made to understand and feel that, on their flocks' account, whom they are intended to instruct and not mislead, politics, party feelings, and prejudices should be forgotten, or, at all events, kept distinct from religion—have they been made in it loyal and obedient subjects; and have they, after leaving it as priests, been teaching those committed to their spiritual care that, it must conduce to their best interests, as well as happiness,

to be so likewise; as their well-doing in life greatly depends upon their loyalty and submission to the laws of the land —have they done their duty, in these respects, as pastors, and as messengers of peace to mankind?—On the contrary, they have been carefully taught, according to the *Theology of Dens*, to acknowledge no authority but that of the Pope of Rome, (whose Bulls, our legislators seem desirous of once more giving force to in this realm,) and on all fitting occasions to do their utmost to hold up to contempt and hatred the British government, because it is supposed to be still, in spirit, *Protestant or heretic;* to make their ignorant flocks to view it in that light, and to consider it patriotic to combine to overturn it; and on its ruins to erect popish supremacy.

This being, we conceive, a well-grounded opinion of this seminary, our readers may conclude that we cannot be otherwise than alarmed, as to the consequences likely to result from what we can only, consistently, look upon as a *national favouring of popery*, and of which, we may rely upon it, we shall one day have to reap the fruits—that is to say, the impolicy—of adding so largely to the revenues of Maynooth College; for we are not politicians enough to be able to expect, as some do, that a measure having for its object the extending and improving the learning and capability of the Romish priesthood, will eradicate from their hearts the spirit of Romanism—unchangeable Romanism. As for increasing the number of colleges in Ireland, in which, as in *University College*, London, education is supposed to be "*unfettered by religious prejudices*," we cannot, after what we have said, with regard to the Irish National Schools, but express our approval of the plan, and gratification at seeing it adopted by Government—but why has it, and its probable usefulness, been clogged or hampered by a seemingly uncalled for grant to Maynooth?

—Surely, those who can afford to contribute, voluntarily, such an ample provision for their clergy as will be shewn in the *Appendix, No.* 3, they do, can also afford to educate them. Any other body of *Dissenters* from the Established Church, have undoubtedly, just as good a right to a *State provision* for the education of their clergy, as the Romish, and we cannot see with what justice it can be longer withheld from them.

But having ventured to approve of the Government plan of establishing colleges in different parts of Ireland for unfettered education, yet we have done so advisedly, expecting much from a *diffusion of knowledge* among all classes of Irish as its results; but, we are well aware also, what have been the effects—we may say—of a similar system of education upon the youth of France, as asserted by the celebrated author of "Timon," Viscount de Cormenin, who says:—"Your university youth are the worst we have had for fifty years." And after describing them as divested of all ideas of religion, he adds—"Tell me, you who believe that society may be sceptical with impunity, where is the general who, in our army, has the least power over his troops; the journalist who has the least power over the people; the orator who, in the chamber, has the least power over the deputies? Not one, not one. I look around me in vain. I see neither in the ministry, nor in the press, nor in the magistracy, nor in the academies, nor in the chambers, one man, not one, whose morality accords with mine, who loves the people as they deserve; not one to whom I would confide the government of the country for a quarter of an hour. Now I ask if such a society, without faith, without courage, without doctrine, without hopes, without grandeur, without union, without symbol, without present, without future, is capable of comprehending, of loving, of desiring, of defending liberty?"

—In short, he declares, that society in France is going into a state of decay, and is only held together by *woman*, who yet feels and acknowledges the influence of religion. "Women," he says, "have preserved the virility of the soul which has no sex, and which men have lost in scepticism and dissipation. Women hold over their husbands that sort of empire which strong minds exercise over feeble. Women teach their young sons those divine lessons of morality and religion that University Colleges cannot entirely subvert. Women cannot help believing, because they need force both for themselves and others." The Viscount also assures us, that unheard-of efforts are making to corrupt the morality of the *family*. "They have undone man: they now seek to undo woman. She has resisted, and will resist; she will lean upon religion; and in this official world, which is shaking and giving way on all sides, she will remain upright for the purpose of restoration."—We shall only farther observe, that if the women of France have performed so noble, so Christian a part, what may we not look for from English, Scotch, and Irish mothers?—they know their duty well, as regards the early religious instruction of their children, and will not, we feel assured, neglect it.

In speaking of education for the great mass of the lower orders of the people, it becomes necessary that we should state what we mean thereby—we mean such an education as will enable pupils to read fluently, and write distinctly English and Irish—the latter where desired. They should also be taught in the public schools all the useful rules of arithmetic. The books to be used in reading should be of a purely elementary nature, wholly divested of political, religious, or controversial subjects; so that no party or sect could complain of the pupil's minds being prejudiced or biassed one way or another. Further instruction, be

it in religion, morality, history, &c. is better left to the discretion of parents, or whoever they, finding themselves unequal to the task, may think fit, or can afford to employ for the purpose. This devolves, as it should do, an awful responsibility upon parents, and will cause them to consider well whether they are certain of being themselves—we shall say simply—in the right road to heaven; or that they can give a good reason for the faith or creed they maintain, to their, we may conclude, generally, better taught children than themselves, when they arrive at the years of discretion. The opposition which Lord John Russell has to be prepared for, to any scheme of *National Education*, which may be propounded, will, no doubt, proceed from those bodies or sects who have already established some kind of schools of their own, and who pride themselves upon what they have thereby achieved, for the good of mankind. This will naturally create difficulties, and produce much rancorous and, we fear, unchristian feeling; perhaps, to such an extent, as may induce her Majesty's ministers to propose to Parliament to withhold aid of any kind, even from the now called National Schools; and, what is probably the wisest and best plan, leave it to all denominations of Christians, throughout the empire, including those who belong to the Established Church, (who need have no apprehensions as to the consequences), to educate, at their own expense, the children of their own sects or respective bodies, according to their own views and opinions. This, at all events, seems to be the only alternative, if what we have ventured to speak of will not satisfy all parties; for it would be as unwise as imprudent, for the country to go on keeping up, at a great expense, national or any other kind of public schools, which please or satisfy no one. In such a case, we should not apprehend, that the education of the people would by any means be neglected;—on the

contrary, we should confidently look forward to its more rapid extension, if it were only pushed onward by no better feelings than those of rivalry and jealousy among the parties. The fruits, however, of instruction, or knowledge, in spite of all opposition or impediments thrown in the way of their growth, would soon be apparent; and wherever the canker-*error* was found to exist, it would certainly be rooted out.

But let us duly weigh and lay to heart what Lord Brougham, the most experienced, and best informed judge of the matter, declared in the House of Lords:—

"He would not interfere with the supply of food, clothing, or furniture; for men would take good care to supply themselves with those necessaries of life: but it was not so as to knowledge: the ignorance of men prevented their knowing the value of knowledge. If the Government provided cheap schools, the people would, by degrees, be induced to send their children to them. One of the great uses of private schools was, that they had the effect of inducing the neighbours of those who supported them, to send their children to such schools, or to some schools. The Government, it was true, might establish some schools at their own sole expense, but to do so to any useful extent, would cost great sums, and the Government had not great sums at their disposal—they had not much money to give, and it would be costly to make the experiment. It therefore appeared to him of the utmost importance, that the Committee of the Privy Council should not interfere, except in aid of local establishments. They did give help, but it ought to be in such a way as to stimulate private beneficence. They should give half, or a third, according to circumstances. It was only in the year 1833 that the recommendations of the Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1818,

were attempted to be carried into effect. Over the inquiries of that committee he had the honour to preside, and of the Government of 1833 he was a member; but the principle recommended by the committee was never adopted till Lord Grey came into office. The Government, as he had already said, ought to give assistance in proportion to local contributions. They might, for example, give outfits, but if they went the whole length of defraying all expenses, their attempts would not succeed. Again, he could not help lamenting that the importance of education was not more generally acknowledged,—that the principle had not struck its roots deeper, as well among the population at large, as among thinking persons. The Christian pastor felt that education was the best aid to religion, and the greatest assistance to morals. Judges, Home Secretaries, justices of the peace, felt that the punishment of crimes had little effect in deterring those who were under the influence of temptation. Mr. Bentham and Sir Samuel Romilly, with both of whom he conversed on the subject, contended that if punishments were rendered certain, they would have the effect of preventing crime. If the thief felt assured that in eight and forty hours he must restore stolen property he would cease to be a thief. But punishment never was certain, and in the present state of society could not be made certain. Men who committed crimes did not calculate—their minds were not in a frame to reason; if they looked forward to consequences they would not offend; lust was inflamed, and a rape was committed,—jealousy was excited, and murder ensued—a bankrupt was guilty of forgery, and if he did not intend to run away, he confidently reckoned upon being able to take up his bill before it became due.

"Now that frame of mind precluded reasoning, prevented calculation, and incapacitated men from thinking rationally

and calmly; and, therefore, the motives they applied to the law by the example of punishment were thrown away, because in such a state of mind the criminal regarded every thing, as the French called it, of a rosy hue. If the crime were a forgery, they expected the money to meet the bill before it arrived at maturity; if it were any other crime, they expected that it would never be discovered; or, when discovered, that they would never be prosecuted; or, if they were prosecuted, they reckoned on the technical defects of the law, or upon the skill and ability of an eminent counsel; and, if that assisted them not, then they reckoned upon the humanity of the judge to spare them; and if that failed them, they reckoned on a defect in the judgment and a writ of error to revoke it; and, last of all, they reckoned upon making interest to get a pardon, and that got rid of all the effect of punishment. Not that he said punishment was of no effect; it certainly was of some, but very little compared with what was thought and generally supposed to be the case. Now what was to be recommended in place of it? Why prevention. Train up a person in such habits that he never would think of committing those offences. None of their Lordships—hardly any one of the other House of Parliament belonged to that class—he should say none in the other House belonged to that class from among whom criminals were taken. They were not persons in their Lordships' rank in society, or in the rank of Members of the other House, with few exceptions. They did not raise a breed of criminals. If they had 1,500,000 persons in London, 200,000 or 150,000 of those persons were the miserable class from among whom came criminals: but not from the upper or the middle classes, or the more respectable portion of the artizans, or from the more respectable of the day labourers; it was a very inferior class from among

whom came all criminals. Now, if they could find the means of training the infants—he did not mean the boys and girls—but the infants from three years of age to six or seven, to those habits which they acquired, and universally acquired, and without any exception acquired at the common infant schools, they would eradicate, in 99 cases out of 100, the seeds of crime, and make it impossible that those individuals should afterwards be guilty; because they were brought up with tender and kindly affections, with a horror of everything obscene and cruel, sordid and base—from the earliest age in the state of mind precisely the same with that which made it utterly impossible that persons in their Lordships' rank should ever go out on the highway, or commit any of those deeds to which he had referred. Those who had had any experience in schools knew full well that after children had reached seven, or eight, or nine years of age, their habits were deeply rooted, and it was impossible to eviscerate them. It was by infant training that those great and blessed effects were to be produced, if at all. Now, if they established infant schools for all infants of a tender age among the bad persons of a population of 1,500,000 in the metropolis, depend upon it they would do a vast deal more to extirpate crime than with all their criminal courts and all their executions, and all their transport ships and imprisonments and penitentiaries. That was his entire and absolute opinion. He differed from many persons in his ideas of punishment, but above all he differed from those who said that there never should be capital punishment for any offence. It had been the punishment for forgery, but he had been one of those in the other House who had obtained that most excellent change in the law with respect to that offence; but he was not for giving up capital punishment, and the terror it inflicted, because it operated

powerfully to deter men who looked forward with indifference to the lesser punishment when stripped of its salutary and restraining effects. These were his reasons for wishing for a public national and general system of universal education, beginning with infant schools, and ending with training schools, which he highly approved of when they were practicable in this country. But why could not such a system be adopted? He could tell their Lordships frankly, very frankly; it was because they had two classes of the community, for both of which he had the most profound and inviolable respect, he meant the members of the Church and members of dissenting congregations, each in their sphere great promoters of education, and deeply interested in the training of youth. He was not speaking of the clergy, but of the community, although the clergy were most zealously bent on the promotion of education; and he should be most ungrateful if he did not acknowledge that in all his little efforts on this subject they had been his most valuable and strenuous supporters both when he was in the other House as well as in that House of Parliament. He never could forget that to every one of the 14,000 circulars which he had issued to the clergy he received an answer, to their great honour, and his great advantage. But there was one thing which both the Church and the Dissenters preferred, and that was controversy, which made them neglect the great object of education, and made them prefer, more than every thing else—victory; they lost sight of the main object in the glory of the victory: that was what he universally found. The Church would not have any system which was so comprehensive as not to allow of any clerical interference; the Dissenters would not have any system which allowed the least interference on the part of the Church; and, therefore, unhappily, between the two, education went more or less to the

wall. It was impossible to have such a system of supervision as would suit all Dissenters, so numerous were they; and his belief was, that it would be better to give the Church a proper superintendence, and [illegible] the Dissenters to take it or not, as they pleased. The rational part of them would very soon come to like it. Although it seemed that they were not to have a general national system of education—the gain of which he thought inestimable—yet he was glad they were to have something approaching to it. He approved of that part of the system of the Noble Marquis which related to Inspectors, but he would suggest that the Inspectors ought to be instructed never to let it be known what particular schools they intended to visit. He would have the inspectors sporadic, to move about a little more unexpectedly. He would also say, let them get their money in the first instance, and then plant in York, Lancaster, Exeter, Maidstone, or perhaps Lincoln, or somewhere in the east, training schools at which Masters should be trained at the public expense. That would not require any exercise of private beneficence, and then let persons who were desirous of establishing schools in different parts of the country, send up teachers to be trained at those schools, as he himself knew, from the correspondence he had had, many were most anxious to do. By those means they would have the advantage of sending forth, every year, 500 or 600 persons well trained for teaching. At present the ignorance of teachers in schools was only to be believed by those who had personal experience and observation of it. There was another suggestion he wished to make, that they should endeavour as much as possible to encourage the taking of quarter pence from the scholars. It was the greatest possible benefit; it saved the independence of the parents, and next to that it saved the money and cost to the country,

and above all it made the recipients value the education the more because they paid for it. He approved also of the plan of giving pensions to the best of those who were trained at the training schools by making them gaugers."

Having thus we hope fairly brought this subject before our readers, we must now request their earnest attention to what has just been established—that is to say, "*The National Protestant Club,*" of which His Grace the Duke of Manchester, has been selected to be Chairman. The prospectus—if we may so call it—has just been submitted to the public; and upon which, after all we have said regarding such important matters, it is unnecessary for us to make any observations; but we may, we suppose, conclude that this Club is closely connected with the "*Protestant Association,*" of an important branch of which, established at Manchester and Salford, the Rev. Hugh Stowell is President, and in which capacity, he has deemed it requisite to put the following rather awkward question to Lord Lincoln, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. J. Brotherton, as belonging to, or were connected with the Government; and also to Mr. John Bright:—"Is it your opinion that no further national concessions to the Church of Rome ought to be made in these realms?"—This question Lord Lincoln, at the time, declined answering; but he has since taken another opportunity of admitting that, he is of opinion, that a provision should be made by the State for the Pope-intruded Romish priesthood of Ireland! Messrs. Gibson and Brotherton answer it evasively; and Mr. Bright would treat all religious bodies alike—in fact, as might be expected, he goes "the whole hog" as to what is usually called "*religious liberty;*" which we conceive, means, that it is of no importanee whether a man has any religious notions or not,—we believe, that most

people would prefer the honesty and straight-forwardness of Mr. John Bright.—But to proceed with the National Protestant Club's Prospectus:—

"General Objects.

I. To maintain the Protestant principles of the constitution in the administration of public affairs.

II. To uphold a system of National Education based on Scripture, and conducted by the ministers of religion.

III. To preserve the Church of England and Ireland in its truth and integrity.

IV. To use every effort, that the government of Ireland may be conducted according to the principles of the British Constitution, and for the establishment, in Ireland, of religious liberty.

V. To endeavour by every means in their power to raise the social condition of the people.

VI. To communicate with all who hold these principles, and to diffuse them, by forming local associations for these purposes, and by procuring in the metropolis a central place, where all who hold the same views may meet, and may devise the fittest means of promoting their common end."

We shall now give a few passages from the Report which follows the summary of objects, list of names of members, &c.:—

"The Romish Church once suffered severe penalties in Ireland, but, though these are now removed by the tolerant spirit of England, the Romish priesthood, not content with toleration, seek ascendancy for their order. Their influence over the Irish Government is now paramount. Every measure passed for Ireland, which concerns the morals of the people, is suggested by them, or their concurrence

anxiously sought. Demands for the diminution and suppression of the Irish Church, enormous annual grants to National Schools under their entire control, the permanent endowment of the College of Maynooth for their sole behoof, the refusal to grant public money to schools whose only fault is that they inculcate *Scripture*—these are the signs of their influence over Government. The demand for repeal, the organized resistance in Ireland to British Law, two-thirds of the Irish representation in the hands of the priesthood; these prove their objects, and prepare for them. In the Colonies their perseverance has wrung a provision from our Government, and has compelled England to raise their Church to an equality with the established Churches of the empire.

"Thus dominant in Ireland, and advancing abroad, the Romish ecclesiastics now open their attacks upon our constitutional liberties in England. Their first step has been to seek to erase from the Statute-book the Act which denies the authority of the Church of Rome to govern in England, and asserts the sole authority of the State over the civil conduct of the people. This Act once withdrawn, the supremacy of the British Crown practically falls, and the laws of the Church of Rome pass current, without a check, over seven millions of our countrymen.

"The step thus gained is immense, and the Church of Rome will speedily shew us what are the consequences involved in it. Already they sound the note of preparation. The authority of their Church once admitted, they will next claim its establishment. They will teach us in England, as they now do in Ireland, that if their Church is not endowed and their faith placed on an equality with ours, their consciences are aggrieved and their position degraded. Payments to their priesthood, rates for their Churches, seats

for their bishops in the House of Lords, colleges endowed for their use, our Universities open to their priests as teachers, the Chancellorship accessible to a Romish lawyer —and the throne of England free to a Popish priest, these are their claims, and these conceded, then ensues the conflict which now harasses Prussia, agitates the Peninsula, and convulses France; — the conflict between an ambitious priesthood who seek to govern mankind, and a people still free, who would retain their liberties. It is this contest on which we have just entered;" and by Prophecy or Revelations in Holy Writ, we are alone taught when it will terminate. But how opportune it is, that Protestants at this important epoch—that is, just before the close of "The Times of the Gentiles;" and when we may, at the termination of such a fearful mode of warfare as the world has not before experienced, look for the Israelites being restored to their own land, should be provided with a sword and buckler of proof, by the Rev. Robert Montgomery, M.A., author of "The Omnipresence of the Deity," "The Messiah," &c., in his "*Luther, or the Spirit of the Reformation.*"—Papists will not be allowed to read it; and Tractarians, verging towards Popery, may tremble in doing so; but every Protestant, who understands the English language, may be assured that he will rise up from the perusal of this beautiful, purely evangelical, soul-stirring Poem, strengthened and better prepared to fight the good fight of Faith, and to take up his cross and follow Christ, the great Captain of his Salvation.

We must, however, refer our readers to the work itself, but particularly to the part commencing with :—

"And thus, Machines, by blind devotion turn'd,"

And ending with :—

"Or Heaven itself, but Holiness above?"

It does not come within the scope of Mr. Montgomery's poem to describe anything like a history of events in the life of Luther, as one might be apt to imagine from the title, but to shew, and define, and enforce the grand principles and vital doctrines of the Reformation, and to point out the abominable and dangerous and debasing superstitions of the papal system. Would that the spirit of the Reformation was more active and more diffused than it is in the present day, and that it exerted a more powerful influence among the nations, and especially in these Protestant kingdoms, than it does in this the middle of the nineteenth century! Then would we hear of fewer perversions to the great Romish apostacy than late years have unfortunately exhibited. As one important, attractive, and most efficient instrument for indoctrinating the minds of all, but especially of the young, with the principles of the Reformation we know no better book than Mr. Montgomery's *Luther*.

But, to proceed to other matters, upon which, we conceive, we ought to touch before bringing our labours to a close.

It would now appear that the inquiries of the Land Commissioners for Ireland are likely—though we fear they were too long delayed—to lead to greater advantages to that country than were generally expected to result from them; so that better hopes may, perhaps, be entertained of their labours being attended with some degree of success; especially, if what is so much wanted in Ireland—an ample field for the permanent employment of the labouring classes—be, through their means, created in it. But it is much to be regretted that the Geological Survey of Ireland is likely only to advance by very slow steps; and that many years must elapse before it can be completed and made available for the profitable employment of any

considerable number of workmen. There seems, however, to be but one opinion as to the vast importance and advantage it would be of to Ireland generally, if her inland navigation, and the drainage of lake and river banks were improved and extended on scientific principles. Government seems to have had this much at heart, but if it is expected that such important and gigantic objects will ever be accomplished by the landed proprietors themselves, without aid, or only the trifling aid of temporary and in, we fear, too many instances, ruinous loans from the public purse, the expectation must end in disappointment; for far too many Irish estates are already heavily encumbered; and in the constantly agitated and unsettled state of the country, English capitalists, knowing the precedence Government loans take of all others, will not risk more of their money in it:—in fact, they are already taking steps to withdraw their capital from Ireland. Some of these Irish gentlemen, years ago, ventured to attempt the improvement of their extensive estates, through the means of this borrowed money—*not, certainly, confiscating of estates, borrowed money*—but their attempts, in this respect, having been, in most instances, made at the suggestion of unskilful speculators, they have thereby so seriously increased their difficulties, as to have become altogether unable, if ever so well inclined, to venture further without Government assistance, and upon plans furnished by men of science, as well as of character, employed by Government, and at Government expense—remuneration for this, or for what are ridiculously called *loans to enable them to employ and feed the people, are altogether, and in the present state of Ireland, out of the question.*

We ought here, however, to notice a pamphlet lately published by Mr. Ward, on the industrial condition of Ire-

land. He suggests a new mode of dealing with that, always to be experimented upon, country. His plan is a monetary one. He considers the landlords to be the only parties to effect the process of regeneration, but that it is vain to expect them to act while they continue to be dispirited by *debt*. £5,000,000 is his estimate of the annual demands of mortgagees on the gross rental of Ireland, and this for a principal claim of £35,000,000; since the borrower pays in the shape of interest and assurance, not less than 14 per cent! Let the Government, says Mr. Ward, pay off £35,000,000, by raising a loan at 3½ per cent., and take from the landowner a lien upon his entailed estates, with certain powers of sale in case of default; the inability to give which to his present creditors, renders it impossible for him to obtain money on anything like reasonable terms. Assuming the correctness of his statistics, Mr. Ward's plan seems deserving of consideration. The security would be certain, and the landlords would be set free with ample means that would enable them to improve their estates, and to fulfil the duties of their station as such. But the important question is, what effect would the raising such a loan have on the money-market? and Mr. Ward does not shew that the Irish landowners of the present day, are either wiser or more prudent men than their forefathers were. This scheme would, in fact, amount to an abolition of the law of entail—a step which, if it were deemed desirable, might be, probably, better taken openly than by this side wind. It is possible, however, that the disguised process might better escape the hostility and opposition of the class, whose prejudices, and pride in ancient inheritance, must ultimately be so seriously affected by it.

But, what vast means of useful and profitable employment for the fine Irish peasantry may thus, and in the other

ways suggested, be created in many parts of Ireland, as was clearly shewn by the report made to the House of Commons in 1835, entitled "The Connaught Lakes," (See Drainage Report, p. 7.) and which will fully bear us out in the opinions we have been led to form on these subjects, upon which much more might be said; but those best acquainted with Ireland, must be aware that, there is a vast proportion of its soil now lying waste and unprofitable; and of which the greater part is improveable. We were rejoiced to observe that to this, as an important object, the attention of the Irish Land Commissioners was directed; so that much advantage, in a national point of view, may yet be derived from bringing such wastes into cultivation; for it is well known, that there is at this moment a vast surplus population vainly seeking employment, besides those who may obtain it, even for a considerable time, upon railroads, drainage, &c., and a patch of land, however small, is the great object—too much the object—of the Irish peasant's hopes and ambition; for few of them have any idea of gaining a livelihood, but by turning up the soil, in order to get potatoes out of it, as a species of food, produced in the greatest quantity, at the least possible labour or trouble.

This desire might, however, if wisely directed, to a certain extent, be made the means of his improvement. Disappointed in this chief object of his life; and his religious and party feelings and prejudices, being wickedly worked upon, he too readily considers himself to be a hopeless outcast, a degraded pauper; becomes a conspirator, and too often a remorseless assassin. But though we would not allow him to have a *small portion* of land upon any terms, as he has no means of cultivating it profitably; —indeed, his being, in any way, looked upon in the light of a tenant, insures his own, his wife's, and children's

wretchedness—yet his condition can most assuredly be much improved by his being, at first, employed as a labourer upon what are now useless and hurtful wastes, to be seen in so many parts of the island; and this employment would be more certain and permanent than that derived from railways, &c., and more suitable to his not over industrious and inherent habits, which make him prefer receiving only 9*d* a day for light work, to earning 1*s* 6*d* or 2*s* for a fair day's work on railways or drainage.

In achieving so desirable an object, it would be indispensable that a measure should be carried through Parliament—freed from the ordinary enormous expense—with the view of placing large proportions of such waste lands, in the hands of capitalists, or companies who, calculating upon certain profits, could afford to lay out money in reclaiming them. As for what we may call the present *Irish Allotment System*, it would be madness to think of it—its results are already ruinously seen and felt by thousands;—the sub-division of already too small patches of land, into still smaller, has only tended to increase poverty and wretchedness. And yet there are puzzle-pated orators, who, at great public gatherings, with the view of keeping up agitation—by which many of them live—descant upon *fixity of tenure* for these *unfortunates!* It would, therefore, it strikes us, be a wise line of policy for Government to pursue,—and we conceive it to be practicable—to regulate the size as well as the rent of the farms into which the appropriated waste-lands were to be sub-divided; the latter to increase gradually from the minimum to the maximum fixed value, which it should never be allowed to exceed. This, of course, would depend upon the nature of the soil, and situation; though by the use of guano, bones, (acted on by sulphuric acid) and other modern manures, in the production of turnips,

(a considerable part of which should invariably be consumed by sheep or cattle upon the fields), and even potatoes, — if it be wise any longer to grow them as food to be depended upon for man or beast—in elevated tracts, to which the old heavier manures cannot be carted, land of all descriptions—attention being paid to scientific drainage—can be rendered almost upon an equality, as to the probable growth of most kinds of crops, excepting, perhaps, wheat. This is no groundless statement, based upon a wild theory; for we speak from experience, and therefore with confidence.

But whilst her Majesty's Ministers, are acting so benevolently, and we conceive judiciously, in some respects, towards Ireland, it is deplorable to think that, their best intentions should, perhaps, be frustrated by the wild and impracticable schemes of those in better circumstances than the *Irish Allotment swarms*, who, in the present lamentable state of that part of the United Kingdom, have an eye to something very like "*fixity of tenure*,"—that is, solely to their own interests—they prudently, in what follows, speak chiefly of the doings in Ireland since 1815, and there is no good reason for their not making the best use they can of what has been going forward since then, among their own class as well as imprudent landlords;—but they should, in fairness, go back to 1793, and ascertain that there are not faults on both sides:—

"A most numerous meeting of tenant farmers and other interested in agriculture in the county of Cork was held at the Corn-Exchange of that city on Tuesday last. The High Sheriff of the county presided! The proceedings are reported at great length; but their import will be found to be embodied in the subjoined petition to Parliament, which was unanimously agreed to:—

"That, although the immediate cause of the distress of

this country is the failure of the potato crop, yet, in devising a remedy, it is necessary to review those peculiar circumstances of the country which have made it necessary for so large a proportion of its inhabitants to depend almost entirely upon the product of an esculent so precarious and innutritious as the potato.

"That under the very favourable circumstances which existed previous to the year 1815, when the productions of this country were largely protected from the competition of foreign countries, and when war prices were obtained, very high rents were exacted from the tenant-farmers, who were therefore unable to accumulate capital, or to employ labourers otherwise than by making the labourer a sort of partner in the cultivation of the soil, and therefore dependent upon the produce of the potato—the easiest raised and cooked, and the most productive food for subsistence.

"That since the year 1815 the population has so greatly increased, that in this purely agricultural country the competition for land afforded an opportunity of greatly sustaining rent, notwithstanding that since that period one long peace has been enjoyed and almost all protection has been withdrawn, and in consequence a still larger proportion of our population is every year reduced to a potato diet.

"That too large a proportion of the entire produce of the soil is absorbed by the payment of these heavy rents, and too little remains to compensate adequately, or to develope the industrial energy, or to improve the social condition of the tenant-farmers and labourers.

"That a very large proportion of these heavy rents, so received from the great mass of the population, are spent in other countries by landlords who are absentees; that the productive power of the country is unable to bear this continued heavy drain: and that such absentee landlords

should be obliged to reside in Ireland and disburse their Irish rents there, or be heavily taxed for Irish relief.

"That landlords plead their own incumbrances as an excuse for not fulfilling their duties towards the tenant-farmers, that the universal voice of public opinion declares them entitled to at this period, but that, as the tenant-farmers in no wise helped to produce these encumbrances, they think it hard to bear the consequences of others' improvidence. That landlords should have increased facilities for the sale of such estates, that they may be able to pay their debts, and that their future rents should be the exact measure of their interest in the prosperity of the tenant-farmer and the country.

"That your petitioners have great satisfaction in thus declaring their condition and prospects, and in pointing out the remedial measures which they deem necessary. That they rely upon the wisdom of Government and Parliament to apply without delay the powers which the constitution invests them with towards alleviating the present distress, and removing the causes of permanent depression which keep this country from advancing in civilization, order, and social enjoyment.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

"EDWARD DEANE FREEMAN, *Chairman.*

"W. H. TRENWITH, *Secretary.*"

These absurd *fixity of tenure* movements, have, it would appear, received additional impulse by what has more recently taken place at Holy-Cross, where it assumed the title of *tenant-right.* In spite of all the actors on that occasion could do to shew about 4000 persons that their new panacea was what is chiefly wanting to set Ireland on her legs again, all came off stale, flat, and, as usual, unprofitable. But we were truly grieved that the farmers and

peasants of Tipperary should be thus deceived and tortured with the miseries of Tantalus, by having held out to them what is utterly impracticable. It was mere cruelty to tell them that a public resolution, expressive of their wish, will lead to its fulfilment. What can the best intentioned Government—what can the most talented and generous minded Lord-Lieutenant do for, or recommend to be done for a country, from which so much pains are constantly taken to banish *tranquillity?*

But if the plan just alluded to, of bringing waste lands into cultivation, were adopted throughout the United Kingdom, what immense improvement and public benefit it would everywhere occasion, and it would most probably, lead, with Sir Robert Peel's *speculative* measures affecting corn, to a general and to be desired reduction of rents; and what a source of profitable employment for the labouring classes would thus be created, who would not then be forced by a to be expected fall in the price of labour, as well as food, to look for it in the already over-supplied manufacturing districts—then land, which, from its being allowed to remain waste and undrained, is now of little or no use or value to any one, would be rendered productive and valuable; whereas, in its present state, it is, as in Ireland and elsewhere, most injurious to agriculture, rendering the seasons wet, cold and backward, and consequently retarding both sowing and reaping in the adjoining districts.

Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's account—given in their Ireland—of their visit to an Irish estate, reclaimed from bog and waste, should be read attentively by every friend to Ireland. It must, under Providence, be conducive to much good; and the not improbable extent to which it may be so, as calling attention to a judicious mode of improving such soils, is shewn in a pamphlet published by Mr. Stapleton, some time private secretary to the late Mr.

Canning; from which we take the liberty of extracting:—"The first thing that strikes the reader, is the remarkable fact, that there is no less than five millions of acres (English) which are considered to be almost all reclaimable. And further, that this land, upon which it is affirmed, 'may be practised the most profitable husbandry in the king's dominions,' is capable, at the very moderate expense of £7. per acre, of being raised from 10*s.* to the value of 30*s.* acreable rent. This is certainly not an exaggerated statement; so that it appears by an outlay of seven millions, one million of acres may be made to produce one million per annum more than they do at present. Now, the interest of seven millions at five per cent. (the Government can borrow at three) amounts to £350,000 a year, so that there would be a clear gain in the transaction of £650,000 a year, which at thirty years' purchase, gives an additional value to the land of £19,500,000! Double the outlay, and the result is £39,000,000! Quadruple it, and the result is £78,000,000!—The natural questions which such a statement must suggest almost to every mind are, can it be true?—is there not some secret fallacy lurking in a calculation which holds out such flattering prospects? If true, is it possible that British capitalists should, for so many years, have neglected such profitable investments?—It would indeed, be so inexplicable, as to be quite incredible, were it not for the well known fact, that *security* has been wanting. True it is that, millions of British capital have been ventured where the security was far worse; but there, this has been effected through the instrumentality of misrepresentation and fraud. The accounts of foreign countries must be taken upon trust; but the state of Ireland comes home to every Englishman. The murders, the outrages, meetings, the agitation, all, as it were, brought together in a focus, within the narrow compass of a column or two of

an English newspaper; the exaggeration of all parties, the large portion of time devoted by the Legislature to the discussion—fruitless discussion—of Irish affairs—all these things combine to alarm the minds of Englishmen, frequently far more than the minds of those who dwell upon the spot, and are often surprised at the notions entertained by their English fellow-subjects respecting the events which are daily passing around them."

Now, Mr. Griffith, the General Valuation Commissioner for the Government, estimates the extent of the Waste Lands in Ireland, at not less than 6,290,000 acres. Of these he considers that 2,535,000 acres are unimprovable, either from the height at which they are situated above the sea, or from other causes; but that not less than 3,755,000 are improvable. This difference in extent of improvable lands between him and Mr. Stapleton is not very material; and, at all events, both shew ample quantity which may be made available for this important purpose.

Mr. Stapleton, may, perhaps, be somewhat too sanguine (and as practical agriculturists we apprehend that he is so,) in his expectations, as to the profits to be derived from the plan he proposes. But still he sets fairly before us a wide field which we should on no account fail to examine, and if found to be really productive, to avail ourselves of, for the beneficial permanent employment of a vast number of people, *who should no longer be neglected.* But the Waste-land labour, Drainage-labour, Road-labour, &c., would (the two last even at present) judiciously and usefully employ many of them; and numbers besides, were it not for the interference of the people's self-interested deceivers, might be taken into Her Majesty's Military and Naval Services; yet there would remain thousands, and these chiefly staunch repealers, or *fixity of tenure* people, who have been deluded into thinking that,

by persevering in their demands, resisting the payment of rent to landlords, and continuing to contribute towards the repeal-rent, they are certain before long to effect their objects; indeed, from all that is daily passing before us; and, considering the strange changes of opinions among public men, we should not be surprised to find that, their hopes of obtaining a separate legislature for Ireland, have not been groundless; for it may at last be deemed to be the wisest and best line of policy for a British Ministry to pursue, to allow the Irish nation to try if they can manage their own affairs, or, in other words, govern themselves. At all events, if such an experiment were made, the British Houses of Parliament would no longer be obliged, year after year, to make arrangements for feeding the improvident and consequently starving Irish, nor be distracted from the consideration of great, enlightened, and necessary Imperial measures, by the endless and fruitless harangues upon Irish affairs, which would then, we apprehend, have to be, somewhat riotously, discussed in—may we presume to call them—*Provincial Houses of Assembly*, but bearing the name of Parliament. This might be expected to lead to the appointment of a Secretary of State for Irish affairs, no longer under the control of the British Home Secretary. But even with such Houses of Parliament managing Irish affairs, the eyes of the people would probably very soon be opened to the real state into which a repeal of the Union had brought them, and to the danger they were in of being subjugated by probably a tyrannic foreign power; (for Ireland's inevitable internal divisions would certainly expose her to such a calamity,) especially if a plan of National Education, unfettered by religious feelings or prejudices of any kind, which would, in all likelihood, and in spite of the Romish priesthood, be adopted; so that they would be enabled the more clearly to see the gross

deceptions so long practised upon them; when we might suppose that a more perfect and permanent union with England would become, as the only certain mode of escaping future evils, the universal desire of all classes; and if then, ways of improving the condition of many, were placed within their reach, they would as gladly as readily avail themselves of them. But we trust that this may be so, without their being obliged, previously, to undergo the fiery ordeal—the fearful process, of a repeal of the present Union.

But we must now observe that the time has arrived for Her Majesty's Government to consider seriously how they are to get, with greater facility, another and a better description of men into our armies; if it were only to enable us hereafter, in case of necessity, to meet such armies as those of France, Russia, Prussia, &c. in the field, on fair or equal terms. With this important object in view, it was proposed by us, in a hurriedly written military work, entitled, "A British Army, as it was, is, and ought to be," to do away with our present system of enlistment for regiments of Dragoons, Artillery, the Line, and the Marines; and in its stead that, a plan should be adopted, for calling forth those warlike energies of the people of the empire, which they so pre-eminently possess. To effect this, it was proposed —as no plan of enlistment by bounty even for limited periods, can be effectual—to extend and improve, by holding out certain advantages, our Militia system, and to call out by ballot, men to serve in all Her Majesty's regular regiments, as well as in those of reserve, for limited periods only. This work was published in the year 1840; but since then, events have in no way tended to make us change the opinions we expressed.

But besides Great Britain being, by this *constitutional* plan, enabled to pride herself upon having, at a com-

paratively cheap rate, the finest and most efficient armies in the world—which should only be required to serve, when absolutely necessary, in the East or West Indies, (the former ought to have a sufficient European Company's army, and the latter European and Black Colonial corps) and when the necessity for their so serving no longer existed they should be immediately recalled—the all-important point to be thus gained would be, that their discipline and efficiency could be maintained as suggested in the work in a perfect state, without its being hereafter requisite to have recourse to what the nation so justly detests—flogging.—Allow us to ask, how is this, in any other way, to be effected?—But, with armies organised as we have ventured to propose, how contemptible would become all the efforts of Agitators, or any other systematic disturbers of the public peace of the country; and how well prepared we should be for warfare —modern warfare—in every part of the world; and for which we, *certainly*, are not at present.

If it would not be deemed presumptuous were we to praise Lord Grey for the highly judicious and important step he is taking towards promoting military colonization in some of our colonies, we would readily and gladly do so. The results must in time be apparent. But this is by no means sufficient to meet the exigencies of the British empire in the nineteenth century.

It is because Great Britain has not such armies, that not long ago, Lord John Russell thought himself justified, as an accomplished politician, seeing into futurity, in thus addressing the House of Commons:—The Noble Lord said, that "if a separation took place between England and Ireland, the glory of this country would have departed for ever. But other consequences would also follow from such a measure; and I think I could shew what would be the effects in Ireland of a repeal of the Union, if we were to

make such a concession to the advocates of that measure. I would put before them a Parliament meeting in Dublin, with a House of Lords, such as a House of Lords in Ireland would be; and then a democratic assembly, quarrelling first with that House of Lords, and afterwards destroying it, as they necessarily should destroy it,—next inflicting fines on absentee landlords,—next quarrelling with England because the manufactures of England were sent to Ireland, and endeavouring in a spirit of jealousy to set up manufactures of their own,—next proceeding in a spirit of enmity towards all those who held property in Ireland, and who differed in opinion from the majority of the people —and then, and that not after a very long time, forcing a quarrel with this country, not for repeal, but as to whether England and Ireland should continue to be united under the same crown. Some enthusiasts in Ireland, who might, I will not deny it, be patriotic and earnest men, would dream of a separation between the two countries; and Ireland would then become the battle-field between England and foreign states. And what, I will ask, would be the situation of Ireland in that case? What would then become of her advancing commerce, and her now improving agriculture? What would become of those rights which she possessed in common with Englishmen, and which rights we hold so justly dear? Why all would be lost—all would perish. In that conflict England would be weakened; but that England would be conquered by Ireland is a supposition which I do not believe that any one can entertain. England would be a sufferer, but Ireland would be ten times a worse sufferer. She would be made the slave of some other foreign power, with her agriculture and her commerce torn to pieces, with her religious dissensions more embittered than ever, and with all her hopes of prosperity and freedom utterly and entirely lost."

Since Lord John Russell, thus despondingly, addressed the House of Commons, the political horizon of Ireland has become still more darkened. But this melancholy view of Irish affairs is not that which we are inclined to take,—we, however, see clearly the necessity for adopting energetic measures, in order, as far as possible, to obviate such calamities. The Historian, Alison, has proved that "*Experience*" is the best teacher of Nations; and that it often happens that, the past events of a people's history refute the theories of the day—also, that the theories of philosophic minds, though in themselves plausible enough, when put to the test of *Experience*, and applied to the present state even of Europe, much less the world, were the wildest schemes that ever entered the brain of a political enthusiast.—We certainly, have no right to suppose, that Lord John Russell allows his mind to be influenced by any such wild schemes, or enthusiastic ideas, but we confess we should rejoice to see that he had relinquished all hopes of any good being done in Ireland by further useless and unavailing concessions, which only encourage further demands; and that he was inclined to be more guided by Ireland's past history, or *experience*, than has been the case with Her Majesty's preceding Ministers. The impression has, at all events, been left upon our minds that a very different line of policy (to enforce which, the presence of the armies we speak of, would be indispensable,) is requisite to insure Ireland's future tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness.

It has been, we conceive, imprudently remarked by a leading Journalist, "that it is to the measures of Government, and to them alone, the country can seriously look. Government must find employment for the Irish poor, or they must compel Irish landlords to do so,—that, it is

sheer folly now to waste time in talking of difficulties; of enormous obstacles to be removed; of the impracticability of persuading Irish Gentlemen that the land of Ireland must maintain its own inhabitants. That the repeal of the Corn-law was difficult; it was too embarrassed by enormous obstacles; and it was doubted whether anything more apparently hopeless was ever undertaken, than to convince the Tory landlords of England that they ought not to tax the poor for their own especial benefit; yet Sir Robert Peel knew how to upheave the whole fabric of both honest and dishonest opposition to his great measure. In his case a good cause and high political courage were triumphant, as they always will be,—that the truth is, English poor-laws must be introduced into Ireland, in spite of the idle cry of confiscation; and the sooner the better." Now, all this betrays a certain want of good feeling, and correct information as to the real state of Ireland and the Irish. But Lord John Russell, in concluding a more recent speech in Parliament, in much better taste, "declared that, Government interference in matters of this kind, has many disadvantages, and which he had pointed out; but in this particular case it had some counterbalancing advantages—he trusted that it would shew the poorest among the inhabitants of Ireland, that we were not insensible to their claims on us, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom; that the whole credit of the Treasury and the means of this country ought to be used, as it is our bounden duty to use them, and that they will be used when they can be usefully employed to avert famine, and to maintain the people of that country."

But, by this, does Lord John Russell mean to say he would attempt to feed the whole of the poor and destitute of Ireland?—We look upon this, under any circumstances, to be wholly out of the power even of *wealthy Great Britain*

to achieve. Mr. J. O'Connell was fairly asked, if he would, "for the love that he bears this country, assist us with those counsels which it costs nothing but reflection to bestow? Would he just *work out* his plan? Let us have a good mercantile estimate of the whole transaction—the quantities of the different descriptions of grain required for sowing (alone) all Ireland; the places where it was to be bought; the prices at the port of exportation; the means and expense of freight, and of conveyance, and distribution to every acre and every horse in Ireland: the respective dates of the several stages of the affair, the rules and the agency that shall secure a just application of the gift, and prevent it from either falling into wrong hands, or being eaten or sold by the needy cottiers and their families."—We might proceed; but, in fact, nothing could be more ridiculous than the notion of being able either to feed the destitute Irish or to find seed for them, to any great extent for next season's crops. But allow us to ask, what had become of the money received by the Irish farmers of every class, for the large quantities of grain, and the vast number of cattle, &c., recently exported; and why did they, in general, pretend to be unable to pay their rent to their landlords?—many of them liberal and indulgent landlords, who were thus rendered the more incapable of assisting the British nation in their attempts to relieve the really destitute and starving Irish. This, as well as the reason for the lower classes purchasing *fire-arms*, at a time like that, ought surely to have been ascertained by those in authority in Ireland. But such a state of things cannot be allowed to last—if it should, the consequences must be disastrous not only to Ireland but also to Great Britain. The effects of the *Treasury Loans*, which take precedence of all mortgages or charges of any kind to which Irish estates were previously subject, are already beginning to be seen and felt,

in the calling in by such English and other capitalists, as have the power to do so, at once, of their money lent on Irish property—the effects of this can by Government alone be counteracted; but how much farther it may be wise or prudent for Government to interfere, becomes a very serious question. We here allude to what was before observed, as to a plan proposed which would affect all entails.

It has been shewn, in a work recently published, that the great and ruinous want experienced of late years in every part of the world, wherein colonization has been adopted, was *moderately priced labour.* Settlers cannot accomplish any important object, at least in agriculture, or other rural affairs, unless they are assisted by man, and that at a reasonable expenditure of capital—without such help, all their exertions and knowledge of tillage, or of stock, must be of no avail.

It seems of late years to have been altogether forgotten, or overlooked, that of old, almost all the settlements of Europeans, in every part of the world, were, in the first instance, formed by slave—that is, cheap labour—for what are convicts but slaves, who are required to labour for the public, or for the individuals to whom they are assigned, who had to provide them with food, clothing, and shelter only, and by the sweat of whose brows, so many fine estates or plantations were formerly brought into cultivation;—but a question is now forcing itself upon public attention, and it is one of vast importance,—can they be kept so by what is termed *free labour?*

By the system hitherto pursued in the disposal of land in our colonies, it may be said, that few besides speculators have been benefited, and these by no means to the extent they calculated upon. An immense proportion of the already disposed of land thus remains useless, and in its

natural wildness; as it is only here and there that spots which have passed into the hands of persons accustomed to practical farming, and agricultural labour, are to be found under a system of profitable tillage. We here more particularly allude to our North American colonies, and in part to the Cape of Good Hope,—as for Australia, where stock is the chief object, many thousands of sheep and cattle have either passed into the hands of the formerly care-takers, or squatters, or are running wild over the country, their owners being unable any longer to pay persons, at the rates demanded, to look after them—the ruin caused by this in New South Wales was fearful.

When, therefore, the present mode of colonization is considered in all its bearings, it is obvious that, if emigration is to be encouraged and promoted as it might be, it would be more prudent and judicious, (after the uncultivated tracts, already disposed of, had been recovered, and which they, in general, can now be at a very cheap rate), were Government, in place of continuing to sell large districts to speculators or companies, to give small but sufficient portions of land, *gratis*, to families, or to individuals desirous of pushing their fortunes in foreign lands —this the Government owes to the Irish for the share it had in the doings in Ireland in 1793—for whom a free and sufficiently comfortable passage might be found to the part of the world intended to be jointly colonized by people from Great Britain, as well as from Ireland. Thus could Government wisely and advantageously, to the empire at large, and to the emigrants also, have laid out the greater part of the money, thrown, we fear, away in ruinous *loans* to Irish landlords, as well as a certain part of the money raised as a *poor-rate*; and likewise, when they had reached the place of their destination, in assisting them in finding cover, and for supplying themselves with

certain agricultural implements, and with seed to be sown or planted; also with a few pigs, sheep, or even cows; as well as with a reasonable allowance of food, until their crops could ripen and become available for their support. Had a plan something like this been adopted, we should never have heard of such shameful and fearful scenes as took place at Montreal, &c.

The expense incurred in this outfit, as it may be called, could not properly, and under the circumstances in which they must be placed in a new country, be expected to be repaid by such poor emigrants. There does not, however, appear to be any good reason why a fixed and moderate—call it—*Crown Rent*, after a certain number of years allowed for improvements by cultivation, should not be exacted for land, sold, granted, or thus disposed of by Government; which, with what might be raised by very moderate local duties upon certain articles, in the course of time, would become a necessary source of revenue; part of which might go to the support of respectable church and scholastic establishments, or be laid out, upon the responsibility of local representatives, in judicious public improvements; such as in making roads, extending and improving inland navigation, rendering harbours safe and commodious, &c.; as well as for the expenses of the local governments, and defence of the colonies. But as labour must necessarily be allowed to find its own value, and as it would not be advisable for the local governments to interfere in regulating it; if this system, which would preserve those necessary grades in society—without which no community can be happy or prosperous—cannot keep down its price, it is altogether hopeless to look for successful colonization in a new country deprived of slave or convict, or, in other words, of *cheap labour;* but that of convicts to a limited extent only.

It would not suit our views to be more minute; but if a plan of emigration of this kind were *at once* adopted, and due encouragement given to those inclined to leave Ireland, (especially such as would willingly join the military colonists,) with the view of becoming possessed of *land which they could really call their own*, we might reasonably conclude that numbers would readily avail themselves of so liberal an offer; especially if care be taken to impress upon their minds, that the British Government intends to deal fairly and honourably by them; for we may rest assured, that misrepresentation would again be resorted to; and they would be told, by those who have so long deceived them, that they were only thus to be decoyed out of the country with the view of getting rid of them, as well as of their claims to what justly belongs to them—that is to say, all "the fields in which their forefathers toiled;" and it is more than probable, that attempts would even be made to make them believe, that as soon as they reached the place of their destination, they would be forced to become Protestants—if not Orangemen!—such is the kind of deception to which the unfortunate "*Meer Irish*" have for ages been exposed—seemingly, for their having deserted the *true religious faith* of their enlightened and long highly favoured ancestors.—A plan of colonization, however, like that which we have just been suggesting, and that for affording labour on waste lands, &c. &c., being adopted, and Ireland's peasantry being shewn, in the way, we trust, to have so faithfully done in this work, the real causes of their being in their present destitute state, and that they have *no right whatever* to any portion of their native land, would do more towards allaying discontents, arising from disappointments, than may be generally supposed. They should, therefore, be considerately made to understand, through the means of their own

language, that their ancestors *lost all rights, when conquered,* to possessions of any kind,—at least, such is the way in which the world has been in the habit of judging in such cases — that any rights they might have, erroneously, imagined they retained, were again and again forfeited by acts of rebellion, into which their forefathers, as well as some of themselves were deluded; and that any political rights which they now are allowed to enjoy, were conferred upon them by British Monarchs and Imperial Parliaments.

But, in justice to the Irish character, and in proof of how much the condition of so many of Ireland's fine peasantry who have emigrated, even as labourers to the United States, has been improved, (and how much more, we believe, would this have been the case, had they been sent out, as we suggest, to our Colonies,) we have only to lay before our readers, what is given, as authentic, in the London "*Evening Mail*" of the 3rd of February, under the Head of "*Money Market:*"—"It has generally been understood that, the Irish emigrants to the United States, have always remitted very fully of their hard earnings to their relatives at home; but most persons will be surprised to hear the extent of their liberality. 'A few days since,' says our correspondent, 'I called upon the different houses in New York, who are in the daily practice of giving small draughts on Ireland, from five dollars upwards, and requested from them an accurate statement of the amount they had thus remitted for Irish labourers, male and female, within the last 60 days, and also for the entire year 1846. Here is the result—'Total amount received in New York from Irish Labourers, male and female, during the months of November and December, 1846, $175,000, or £35,000 sterling; Ditto, for the year 1846, $808,000, or £161,000 sterling.' These remittances are understood to average

£3. to £4. each draught, and they are sent to all parts of Ireland, and by every packet.

"'From year to year,' our correspondent adds, 'they go on increasing with the increase of emigration, and they prove most conclusively that, when Irishmen are afforded the opportunity of making and saving money, they are industrious and thrifty. I wish these facts could be given to the world, to shew the rich what the poor have done for suffering Ireland, and especially that the Irish landlords might be made aware of what their former tenants are doing for their present ones. I can affirm on my own responsibility that, the amount stated, is not exaggerated; and also, that from Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, similar remittances are made, though not to the same amount.'"—Such acts do honour to the warm-hearted, affectionate Irish; but why should every occasion be laid hold of to unfairly asperse all Irish landlords?

But let us hope that every means will be used; which will not tend to the injury of the landed interest; in order to find *profitable permanent employment* for the destitute Irish. Numbers may be inclined to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity of improving their condition in the world by emigration, in the way suggested; on the waste lands; or in manufacturing pursuits of any kind—the capital necessary for such purposes, would rapidly flow into Ireland, as soon as she is only really *tranquil*—and then happier days for a hitherto unhappy people might be fairly looked forward to; provided due pains be taken to frustrate the designs of evil-minded, self-interested agitators and their abettors, and to educate and enlighten them, so that they may, at last, be enabled to see and understand that, the cause of *Gospel Truth* recompenses those who embrace and defend it; and that pure Evangelical Christianity, can alone instil into the hearts of mankind, that

piety which exalts a nation, and effectually secures, through the blessing of Divine Providence, their happiness and prosperity.

With these remarks, we intended to have taken leave of our readers; but Lord John Russell in Parliament, on the 25th of January, 1847, was so admirably illustrative of the melancholy state into which Ireland has been brought by various causes, but chiefly mismanagement; and so clearly explained the nature of some of his measures for her restoration to prosperity—and they are, except as to a poor-law being *at once* introduced into Ireland, but little removed from our views—that we shall conclude with requesting the reader's attention to parts of his excellent speech on the occasion:—"I am obliged to say, that while we attempt all that we think practicable, we must, in the first place, refuse to make promises of that which is out of our power; and in the next place, we must call upon and expect those who have local duties to perform in Ireland, to perform those duties, and to assist the Government and Parliament in their arduous duty; and when I say that I expect this, I am quite sure that many will perform it, because I know that in many, very many instances, the resident proprietors in Ireland have been most ready with their money, with their time, and with their attendance, in endeavouring to provide for the relief of their destitute countrymen. Let me say, in the first place, that I think, that although, unhappily we have been diverted from the observance of general principles with respect to these matters, yet I do think that we ought to observe general principles as far as possible, and that these general principles prescribe thus much with respect to the interference of the Government. That interference may be given in three ways, and these three ways ought, as far as possible, to be kept separate and distinct. First, the Government, with

the support of Parliament, may grant assistance to individual proprietors for the purpose of enabling them to improve their private properties. Secondly, it may assist them in public works by making roads, or partly by grants in aid of public works, which are evidently of public utility. And thirdly, it may enact that relief should be given by law to the destitute. Now, I think that these three modes should be kept as far as possible distinct—that is to say, that when money is advanced to private individuals for the purpose of improving their property, you should take security so far that it is used for that purpose, and not spent in extravagancies in Paris or Naples; but that beyond this there should be as little interference as possible with the outlay of the money. Such is the principle of the first measure of which I am about to speak. It is a measure founded upon various Acts which have been passed by this House at different times up to the Drainage Act of last session, and upon the terms given to the public in the Treasury minute of the 1st December last. According to those acts, and to that minute, it is proposed, that where the improvement of estates by drainage, or by any other improvement, such as the reclamation of waste lands, will produce certain improvements in its value, so that the legal heirs might not be prejudiced,—in that case certain advances shall be made from the public funds of this country. The usual rate for advances from the Treasury is 5 per cent.; in the Drainage Act of last year it was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with repayment in 22 years, making $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. each year till the expiry of the 22 years, when the whole sum borrowed was to be repaid. Now we propose to take the terms proposed in the Drainage Act, and extend them to the various improvements mentioned. We propose not to confine the improvements to drainage, and to do away with certain technicalities which, according to that act

made it difficult for tenants for life to borrow money. We intend to do away with this technical difficulty, and to advance money to enable proprietors to improve their estates —such advances to be at the rate of 3½ per cent. and on condition of its being repaid in 22 years, or, if it should happen to be more convenient for the borrower, in a shorter time. We propose, also, with respect to more general works, to consolidate and amend the Drainage Acts now on the statute book. According to those acts, in certain cases, proprietors of a district may meet and agree to ask a loan for the improvement of their estates by drainage; and if the majority so agree the minority are bound to join them. Now, in those cases, the drainage will be undertaken by the Board of Works, or carried on under their superintendence.

"But this alludes to drainage of a more general nature. It will not take place on the private estates of proprietors; it is applicable only to streams and rivers, and other operations of that kind, by which the country will be much improved. We propose, therefore, to consolidate and amend those acts. It is on the same principle that we propose to undertake the regulation of a portion of the waste lands of Ireland. It has long been stated, in various reports of commissioners, in reports of committees of this House, and by eminent writers, that in many cases the reclamation of the waste lands of Ireland would produce profitable employment to the people, and make the lands of great value. Sir R. Kane in his work, *On the Industrial Resources of Ireland*, says, that the estimate that there are 4,600,000 acres of waste land in Ireland which might be reclaimed and formed into cultivated lands, was perfectly correct, and that it was no exaggerated estimate. We propose to devote £1,000,000 to this purpose, and we propose that the land should, if the proprietor be willing to part with it, be purchased; but that if he does not improve it by accepting

a loan under this measure, or out of his own resources, and if he refuses to sell, there shall be a compulsory power to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to take and improve waste lands which are below a certain value. The value which we propose to estimate, is land which does not give below 2*s* 6*d* per acre, per annum.

"We propose that such lands shall only be improved and reclaimed so far as general operations are concerned; that roads shall be made; that general drainage shall be effected, and the necessary buildings erected; but that none of the cultivation of the land shall take place until the erection of a public department; that having been so reclaimed, they shall be divided into lots, which shall not be below a certain amount nor above a certain amount. I am not at present prepared to fix this amount absolutely, but, say, that they shall not be less than 25 nor more than 50 acres, or some proposal of that kind; and that when these lots have been reclaimed, they may be either sold or let to tenants for a certain number of years, with a determination that they shall be sold at the end of that time. It is intended that we shall not confine ourselves either to letting or sale, but to act as may be found expedient in each particular case. I expect that great advantages will gradually arise from this plan. I expect that a great number of persons who have hitherto been driven to despair, and many of those into crime, by the great demand for land, will many of them be placed in those holdings, and be able to earn a comfortable living by the produce of their labour. I think likewise, with respect to those who purchase them, that we shall be able to raise a class of small proprietors, who by their industry and independence, will form a valuable class in the future society of Ireland. Let me say here, that I do not think—so far as I have been able to form a judgment—that such holdings are a great evil in

Ireland. I believe that the particular mode in which land is held has very often been a source of evil in that country, but I do not think that the small divisions have been injurious; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion by finding, that in one of the counties in which there is the greatest division—I mean the county of Armagh—is notoriously one of the most flourishing and best cultivated in Ireland. If you compare the whole province of Ulster with the province of Munster, you will find that property is more divided in the former than in the latter. I believe, therefore, that in adopting a plan of this kind, with a compulsory power, a very great advantage will be obtained. I now come to the third class of measures; but before passing to that, let me here make this observation, that in stating now the measures which we propose immediately, or almost immediately, to bring into Parliament, I am not stating all the measures which we have in contemplation, and which we may hereafter bring forward. But I am now stating the measures which are calculated, as we think, to promote the improvement of Ireland, by enabling the proprietors to obtain funds sufficient to make great improvements on their estates, and also by affording means by which works of a more public nature may be carried into effect. I now come to the third class of measures to which I have alluded—that class of measures the object of which is simply to afford relief to the destitute. It will be remembered that the Poor Law Commission of Inquiry made their report; they advised that all of a certain class should be relieved, and in that class they included all those who were infirm and permanently disabled. We thought, upon the whole, that it was safer, in the first instance, to have workhouses erected in Ireland—not to confine relief to any particular class of persons, but to allow relief to be given to the destitute able-bodied as well as to the destitute

infirm; but to confine that relief to the workhouses. It is not only the experience of the present state of things, but it is an opinion formed upon general views of the state of Ireland, that the Poor Law ought to be more extensive than it now is. I should therefore propose to bring in a bill—which is a bill for the more effectual relief of the destitute poor of Ireland—which should enact that the guardians of the poor be required to give relief, either in or out of the workhouse, to all those who are permanently disabled by bodily infirmity. I am convinced that this ought to be done, and it will be the means, in the first place, of enabling the guardians to make use of the workhouse for its proper function as a test of destitution; and in the second place, it will enable them to afford relief to that unfortunate class of persons in their own houses—a course which will be both more satisfactory to the general feelings of the people of that country, and more useful in the future working of the system. When the workhouse is full, the Poor Law Commissioners shall have power to direct that in such cases the guardians may give relief out of the workhouse to the able-bodied poor. I am of opinion, however, that this is a power which should be cautiously used. I am of opinion that the workhouse should always be kept as a test for the able-bodied poor. But at the same time, as we have seen, there are cases where the workhouses are insufficient to afford accommodation to all the unfortunate persons who are crowding round their doors, and we think that the Poor Law Commissioners should have power in these cases to make an exception. With respect to able-bodied paupers, I may remark that relief is to be given in food only. We likewise propose that there should be relieving officers appointed, and that it should be the duty of such relieving officers, in case of urgent distress, where there is a danger of starving on the part of persons applying, to give relief,

either in or out of the workhouse, until the next meeting of the board of guardians, who shall make provision for such cases according to the general rule which they have sanctioned. Such, therefore, is the nature of the measures which we purpose to introduce immediately. There are, as I have already stated, other measures which have been, and are, under the consideration of the Government. Connected with the first class of measures to which I have alluded, namely, those which are to enable proprietors to make a better use of their property, to increase their capital, and to improve their estates, we have under consideration a measure for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates. There are two modes by which this may be done. One is for adopting the general principle of the Copyhold Enfranchisement Act. Every one knows that bills are passed in every session to allow certain individuals to sell portions of their estates, in order to enable them to pay off incumbrances. As one way of carrying into effect the principle to which I have just alluded, I would propose that there should be a general law giving commissioners power to examine into each case brought before them; instead of passing a private bill in each case, that a general bill should be passed in which should be included all cases. Another mode of obtaining the same object has been under consideration, and this was solely by the authority of the Court of Chancery, upon application made to it for that purpose. I cannot, at this moment, say which mode will be finally preferred; all I can state is, that the subject is under consideration. We shall likewise propose a bill by which those long leasehold tenures in Ireland which are renewable for ever may be converted into freeholds. I must say that there is nothing with respect to the general state of Ireland —nothing with respect to its present unfortunate condition, more injurious than the mode in which property is held by

various tenures and under various conditions in that country. It very often happens that the proprietor in chief, as he appears to be, of a large estate, obtains only a small part of the rent; another head landlord of a great property leases it under him, and the leaseholder has again a middleman under him; so that it is almost impossible to say on whom the duties of property rest. This is a subject worthy of the attention of Parliament, and I hope it will consider how tenures in Ireland may be simplified, and whether it be not possible to establish the same connection between the proprietor and tenant and labourer in Ireland as exists in England and Scotland. It is to the want of that connection I attribute the fact that, with respect to many frightful cases of destitution in Ireland which have reached the ears of the public, when inquiry has been made as to the persons who were immediately responsible for the destitution, or ought to be called upon to subscribe for the relief of the sufferers, it has been found almost impossible to ascertain upon whom the obligation rested. That is not the case in England and Scotland. In the latter country, where great destitution unfortunately prevails at the present moment, though some of the proprietors' estates are heavily encumbered and charged with debt, yet such is their connexion and sympathy with their tenantry and labourers that they have made themselves responsible for large advances of money, by means of which alone it was possible to avert some of the dreadful consequences of the impending calamity. Under the second head of public works comes fisheries, which has attracted the attention of the Government; but with respect to which I am not, at present, prepared to make any definite statement to the House. There is another subject, likewise, with respect to which I am not prepared to make any statement to the House, but upon which I know large expectations are enter-

tained in Ireland—I allude to emigration. I confess I think that, although Parliament may assist emigration to a certain extent, the extravagant expectations which are entertained on this head can never possibly be fulfilled. It is stated by Sir Robert Kane, and truly, that when persons are removed from a locality by emigration, the number removed is never so large as to produce a sensible effect on the population. I do not believe that any emigration which may take place as the result of either private or public exertion can ever, according to the ordinary amount of emigration, produce such an effect as to enable the remaining population to earn a greater amount of wages. Then, before we should make extraordinary efforts to increase emigration, it is necessary to consider an important point. If we attempt to go beyond that which is the ordinary annual emigration, and to convey a million of persons at once across the ocean, you must look not only to the advantage which you suppose would arise from not having those persons in Ireland competing with other labourers, but you must also inquire what funds—what means there are in the country to which they must be carried, to secure them subsistence. If by the public means you convey a hundred thousand persons to the United States, that country would have just cause to complain of our having cast our paupers on her shores, to be maintained by her when their maintenance was a primary obligation upon ourselves.

"Then, again, if we should attempt to introduce a hundred thousand emigrants into Canada, the market would be glutted by the redundant supply; and the labourers there, instead of obtaining a fair amount of the means of subsistence, as they did now, would enter into a fierce competition with each other, and thus a state of things would be produced in Nova Scotia and Canada in

some respects similar to that from which the emigrants had fled at home. In considering the subject of emigration, when I held the seals of the Colonial Department, I was, I confess, disposed to go further than I did, and the obstacle was of a financial nature rather than any unwillingness on my part. It appeared to me, however, that the best mode by which emigration could be promoted was by taking charge of the emigrant, not at his present place of abode, not at the port of embarkation, but at the port where he disembarked, and then convey him to some field where he would find a market for his labour. Accordingly, I proposed for that purpose a grant of money, which has since been continued, being in some years more and in some years less, by means of which, many emigrants have been conveyed to Montreal, to Kingston, and other places in the western part of Canada, and placed in situations where they could earn a subsistence. . . . . Seeing, then, that there had been a large amount of emigration last year—seeing that it was observed by the emigration agents that there were still a large number of pauper families from Ireland, I should be deterred from attempting to give a stimulus to emigration, which might have one of two effects—either of sending out a great number of paupers who would be unable to find employment, or, what would, perhaps, be equally objectionable, causing a waste of the public money by carrying at the expense of the country those who were able to obtain the means of paying for their passage, but who, instead of calling upon their friends and relatives in Canada and other colonies for assistance, would come upon the public funds. Such a system would be destructive of all habits of prudence and foresight. I have some expectation that I may be able hereafter to propose a measure to facilitate emigration which would be altogether unobjectionable, but I can hold

out no hope of proposing, on the part of the state, any extensive scheme of emigration. I know not whether Sir R. Kane's estimate of the resources of Ireland is to be taken altogether as a sober one, but he maintains, that so great are her agricultural, independent of her other resources—so great are her mineral resources and means of manufacturing employment by water power, that no less than 17,000,000 of people can be maintained in that country; I will not enter into that calculation, but this I will say, that I do not think, if a good agricultural system was introduced into Ireland, if there was good security for the investment of money in land, if the proprietors themselves would undertake the task of improving the country, and if other classes would co-operate with them—I say I do not think the present population of Ireland is excessive. I am speaking according to the opinion of some who have very well weighed the resources of Ireland, and before I conclude, if the House will so far bear with me, I will venture to allude to countries which apparently were once in as bad a state, as far as the general condition of the population was concerned, as Ireland is now, and which are at present flourishing in possession of order, peace, and security. I think it may be productive of good to enter upon this retrospect, because I know that many persons in contemplating the evils which have afflicted Ireland, especially at the present crisis, have been disposed to yield to despair. I do not despair of Ireland; I say there is no reason, unconnected with laws which happily have ceased to exist—unconnected with unhappy circumstances to which I do not like to advert, but which have been adverted to in the Poor Law Commissioners' inquiry—I say that, unconnected with these circumstances, there is no reason why Ireland may not at a future day rise to a state of great happiness and prosperity. I will read the de-

scription of a country in which these evils were stated to occur by an old English writer :—

"The husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else, either by covin or fraud, or violent oppression, they be put beside it; or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied that they be compelled to sell all. By one means, therefore, or by the other, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart away, poor, wretched souls,—men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers with their young babes, and the whole household small in substance and much in number; as husbandry requireth many hands; away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale—yet, being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought; and, when they have wandered about till that be spent, what can they then do but steal, and then justly, *pardy*, be hanged, or else go about a-begging?"

This was a description not unlike that of parts of Ireland, where wretched families, being turned out of their holdings, were driven at once either to the commission of robbery or to go about begging. Yet the description I have read is that given of England by Sir Thomas More —that was an account of England in his day. If any one should suppose this was an effort of the imagination, I can assure him that we have other authentic accounts which coroborate it; one written by a magistrate states, that in every county there are from 200 to 300 persons who live by thieving; that gangs carry away sheep from the field; that husbandmen had no security against their attacks; and that 70,000 of these marauders were hanged in one reign; that is a description of a country in which we now see so much security prevail, in which there is such an

almost total absence of the scenes described as constantly occurring by the writers of that day. This is a proof that the evils referred to had their origin in the state of society and not in the nature of the country. I will now read a description of another country, at a different period, namely, the end of the seventeenth century:—

"There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great number of families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others who, with living upon bad food, fall into various diseases), 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only no ways advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country; and though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of the present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or submission either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature, fathers incestuously accompanying their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way any of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who if they give not bread or some sort of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty, many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

Such was the description of industrious, sober, civilized

religious Scotland—such was the description of that country at the end of the seventeenth century. Shall we say that particular laws, that a peculiar state of society, have no influence on the condition of a population, when we find England and Scotland represented as being in this state, and afterwards becoming orderly, civilized, and prosperous? I think we should not be acting as becomes the representatives of this country if we despaired of the state of Ireland. I am not one of those who think that, apart from political rights,—apart from other questions connected with political institutions, a merely beneficent Government can make a country flourish. It is my opinion that other measures will be required. and when the proper time comes for proposing such measures, I shall be ready to undertake anything which I think will be for the ultimate benefit of Ireland. But this I feel with respect to these and all other measures, that there are some things which the Crown cannot grant, which Parliament cannot enact,—these are the spirit of self-reliance and the spirit of co-operation. I must say plainly, that I should indeed despair of this task, were it not that I think I see symptoms in the Irish people both of greater reliance on their own energies and own exertions, and greater willingness to co-operate among themselves. I believe, if they will encourage this spirit among themselves,—I believe if they will look to what has been done in this country and in its neighbour, Scotland, by industry, by perseverance, by never despairing of success,—if they will go on, not looking always to the Government proposing this, and Parliament enacting that, but will see what is the task immediately before them, and set themselves heartily and strenuously. to perform that task, that there are means, there are resources, in Ireland, which may bring these matters to a happy issue. There is no doubt of the

fertility of the soil; that fertility has been the theme of admiration with writers and travellers of all nations. There is no doubt of the strength and industry of the inhabitants, for the same man who is loitering idly by the mountain side in Tipperary or Kerry, whose potato crop has just furnished him with occupation for a few days, whose wages and whose pig have enabled him to pay his rent and eke out a miserable subsistence, has perhaps a brother in Liverpool, Glasgow, or London, who in the sweat of his brow is, from morning to night, competing with the strongest labourers of England and Scotland, and earning wages equal to any of them. I do not think, therefore, that either the fertility of the land, or the strength and industry of the inhabitants are at fault; but there have been faults, there are defects, and happy will it be for us if we can lay hold of the means of curing those defects. Happy will it be indeed, if the Irish themselves take for their maxim, "Help yourselves, and heaven will help you;" and then I trust they will find there have been some "uses in adversity."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Ecclesiastical Laws of Austria.

"By the Austrian ecclesiastical law the Roman Catholic Church is regarded as a visible and external society, and therefore liable to state control; that civil and religious society, essentially differing in origin and object, are nevertheless means for the attainment of a moral end! that these societies have separate existences and duties; that the State, as such, is not the subject, or the matter, of religion; that the State has not a necessary connection with any particular religion, inasmuch as the social compact is not founded on the idea that the citizens have to profess one creed rather than another; that forcible means are not allowable in matters of religion, and that the members of the State may or may not belong to any particular Church; that by an ulterior consequence, the Church is not the State, even though the head of the State and all its subjects be members of that Church.

"By the Austrian ecclesiastical law, therefore, it is held that the Church is in the State, not the State in the Church; that the latter, as a society legally admitted into the Sta[illegible] ought in regard to everything external, discipline, public worship, revenues, &c., to be subject to the civil laws of the State, and that the sovereign, independently of the religion he professes, is also in his dominions the external or legal head of the Roman Catholic Church as well as other religious societies admitted into the State, and that the supreme authority can make special laws for every one of them.

"Setting out from these principles, the Austrian law attributes to the Government three principal rights relatively to the Catholic Church: the right of examining, the right of preventing, the right of protecting.

"As to the first and second of these rights, it is perfectly natural that the Government, which has the supreme inspection over everything that passes in the State should have the right of informing itself and requiring reports concerning all that is doing in the Roman Catholic Church, that is, concerning the laws of its association and its external acts, as also of preventing and forbidding whatever it can discover in those laws and in those acts prejudicial to the State.

"The right of protection is exercised by the Government over the Roman Catholic Church, inasmuch as it was admitted into the State, and there constituted a moral person; and by virtue of this protection it enjoys not only the free exercise of its worship, but also various civil rights. The Austrian law insists in an especial manner, that no other authority but the Government can decide without appeal the questions liable to arise, and that are continually arising, either between the members of the association, or between the entire society of one of its members, or between the association, on the one side, and individuals or corporations unconnected with the association, on the other.

"The right of protection was considerably extended in its consequences on the ground—firstly, of the just return which the Roman Catholic Church owes to the Government for the existence and the rights granted by it; secondly, because every religion ought to be useful to the State; and as the State itself can alone be the judge of that utility, it follows that the Church cannot be useful to it unless in accordance with the views of the Government, and that it ought in consequence to follow the directions of the latter in whatever is not prejudicial to the essence of its religion.

"In pursuance of the right of protection, which naturally associates itself with the two other rights above-mentioned—those of examination and prevention—and which completes them, the Austrian Government, after the example of many other sovereigns, principally in the first ages of the Church, made laws, or regulations, relative to almost all matters of worship and external discipline—to the public teaching of a better system of ecclesi-

astical laws; to the observance of better ecclesiastical laws; to the education of young candidates for the ecclesiastical profession; to the form of prayers and other accidental rites of public worship. It suppressed such of those rights as it deemed useless, superstitious, or prejudicial: it forbade pilgrimages, nocturnal assemblies, the exposure of goods for sale near churches, the multiplicity of church-boxes and collections, certain processions, certain practices for obtaining indulgences, and certain benedictions, and most expressly missions; it restricted holydays, days of fasting and abstinence from certain kinds of food; it steadfastly maintained the principle that the Government has a right to forewarn the people against superstition, pious falsehood and frauds, illegitimate devotions, artful extortions, and even to direct the ecclesiastical rites for the benefit of the State. It inculcated that the Government can, when it thinks fit, silence controversies which it deems dangerous to the public tranquillity; and it forbids, in fact, disputes on the bull Unigenitus, and between Molinists and Jansenists. It attributes to itself the authority to compel, even by rigorous measures, members of the clergy to perform their duties, the right of convoking national councils, of admitting or not admitting monks, and prohibiting, when it thinks proper, the taking of monastic vows; not only, as it says, because the existence of the whole corporation depends on the civil government, but also because religious vows and the tenor of monastic life remove those subjects who embrace it from various duties of society, and that as long as they live. It reserves to itself a part, sometimes direct, at others indirect, in the nomination of those who are to fill the different ecclesiastical dignities or offices. Thus all the bishops and archbishops in Austria are nominated by the Emperor, with the single exception of the Archbishop of Olmutz, who is elected by the chapter. The vicars-general are elected by the bishops and approved by the Government. The canons are directly nominated or approved by the government, according to fixed regulations. In order to ensure the nomination of fit persons, the Government prescribes the rules that are to be followed. It

desires, for example, that parishes be given after competition; that the canons of cathedrals may be bestowed with rewards for good parish priests, or those who have distinguished themselves in the public instruction. In short, the ecclesiastical laws have been almost entirely new framed in Austria by the laws of the civil authority, which have almost superseded the ancient canon law.

"In addition to these, the Austrian ecclesiastical law adopts the following maxims:—

"The ecclesiastical hierarchy—that is the religious establishment as it exists—is partly of Divine right, partly of human right.

"The power of the Church is wholly spiritual; it is limited to instruction, to exercises of piety, to the occasional exclusion of refractory members of the ecclesiastical communion—no coercive power belongs to the Church—every individual is at liberty to enter the Church or not to enter it—the Church has no power over purely civil actions—ecclesiastical censures cannot have the slightest civil effect unless the civil authority assents to them.

"The Pope, the bishops, and the other members of the clergy, may be in error whenever they make regulations for matters not concerning the faith; and even in decreeing upon such matters, if they are not assembled in general council, and their decrees are not the result of universal assent.

"Dogmas alone are invariable. Everything else appertaining to religion that comes under the name of discipline is accidental and subject to the changes required by time, places, and other circumstances; whence we may deduce the principle of the perfectibility of the Church.

"No new dogmas can be introduced.

"No miracle is at present needed by the Church.

"The laws of the Church, or canons, if they relate to anything external and temporal, must be approved by the State. The publication of all must, moreover, be submitted to the *placet* or *exequatur* of the Government. No new ecclesiastical law shall be made, unless there be a necessity for it, or it be of evident utility to the Church. The head of the State may require

the execution of the ancient canons of the Church emanating from the times of the greater perfection of Christianity, in preference to such as were subsequently introduced, in consequence of the false decretals, papal reservations, and what are termed the rules of the Romish chancery. He has a right to cause such divisions of dioceses and parishes as he thinks proper to be made, for the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to refuse to suffer the ordinary jurisdiction of any foreign bishop excepting that of the Pope, in what relates to the attributes of the primacy. He has a right nevertheless to restrict communications with the Pope to matters purely essential to the Roman Catholic Religion; for it is a consequence of the right of protection inherent in the Government over the Churches of its own dominions, to enfranchise them from submission to a foreign jurisdiction. All concessions made to the Church by the political authority may be modified or revoked, as circumstances or the welfare of the State may require.

"The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not attributed to St. Peter alone, but to all the apostles, of whom the bishops are the successors. The bishops are to be considered as successors of the apostles only in that part of their power which is necessary for the conservation of the Church, not in that other privileged part, conceded to them personally and as witnesses of the resurrection, or as expressly chosen to be the first preachers of the Gospel. Still less can they be considered as successors of the apostles in the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were directly and specially conferred upon them. The power of the bishops being, therefore, of divine origin, cannot be subjected to any diminution on the part of those who elect, confirm, or consecrate them. The bishops are all equals, excepting the primacy of the bishop of Rome. They ought not, therefore, to be considered as subjects of the Pope, but rather as associates, or colleagues in the government of the Church, as also in the power of making ecclesiastical laws. The superior ecclesiastics ought to abstain from imposing any arbitrary yoke on the faithful, from commanding anything that is not founded on the

institutions of Jesus Christ, or demonstrated to be indispensable for the welfare of the Church. They ought, in short, to preserve intact the liberty of the Church. It is the will of the Government that the bishops resume the full exercise of their primitive rights; that they adopt or reject the new laws of universal discipline, after their own examination of them, and according to the circumstances of their respective dioceses; that they, not the Pope, shall grant such dispensations as they think fit relative to marriages or any other subject.

"The primacy of the Church belongs to the Bishop of Rome. This primacy has for its object the preservation of the unity of the Church. Every bishop ought to put himself in communication with him by letter. The bishops may also hold convocations themselves, if the welfare of the Church requires it, and the Pope refuses to convene them. The consent of the supreme power is necessary for the convocation of a council. The authority of general councils is superior to that of the Pope, because the supremacy of the Church was attributed to the whole body of the bishops.

"The ancient bulls invading the rights of the political and civil authority, such as bull *In Cœna Domini*, shall not be executed in any manner. No new bull, no rescript, no provision coming from Rome, grants of indulgences included, can be either received or published, or carried into execution, unless it be furnished with the *placet* or *exequatur* of the civil authority. The decisions of the different congregations of Rome, of the Index of the Holy Office, &c., are not recognised. All correspondence with the generals of religious orders resident abroad is prohibited, even in case there should be monks of the same order in the Austrian dominions.

"Every bishop duly nominated or approved by the Government must, before consecration and before he takes any oath to the Pope, take one to the Sovereign, in which it shall be specified that any oath he may take to the Pope shall be understood to relate only to canonical obedience, and not diminish in any respect the rights of the Sovereign, or his duties as a subject. The parish priests are to attend at the promulgation of laws,

and to inculcate the observance of them. The Government has also imposed on them other duties, by which it makes them concur in primary instruction, in taking care of the poor, orphans, and bastards, in keeping registers in due form of the civil state, and in the execution of the laws generally. It has appointed them officers for the performance of the civil ceremony of marriage, though it has in many respects entirely separated the contract from the sacrament.

" Notwithstanding all the ecclesiastical laws on the subject of immunities, the Austrian government has attributed to itself not only the rights which every government has over the possessions of individuals, but still more ample rights, that, in particular, of supervising their administration, considering them as part of the public domains (since they belong to corporations whose very existence depends on the government), as property the revenues of which ought to be applied to objects of public utility, such as the maintenance of religion and its ministers, and the relief of the poor. It made considerable modifications in regard to tithes. It taxed the revenues of the clergy, either for objects of general utility, or for those of special utility to the Church itself. It determined the cases in which alienation is permitted and the forms to be followed in those cases. In like manner, it attributed to itself the authority to suppress, diminish or regulate, according to circumstances, the fees and dues payable to the clergy on all different occasions. It forbade the sending abroad any part whatever of the money belonging to the ecclesiastical corporations, even in payment for masses.

" In regard to religious liberty, or toleration, the Austrian government holds this language,—' Religion, considered abstractedly, did not form part of the social compact, neither could the citizens renounce the natural liberty to exercise the religion that suits them, provided civil society sustains no detriment from it. This ought so much the more to have place, since religion is not a thing that can be forced, because the moment you attempted to force it, it would become an outward and hypocritical cloak of faith and piety. For this reason it is one of the rights of the

Sovereign to allow his subjects of different religions the free exercise of their worship, whenever it appears to him that the doctrines and rites of any religion whatever are not in opposition to the welfare of the State.'

"Then, adverting to the Roman Catholic Church in particular, it adds :—'The Church must have learned of its Divine Founder that it is its duty to obey the civil authority; and this obedience ought to extend to everything not contrary to the essence of the Christian religion, as founded and instituted by him. The supreme civil authority has, therefore, the incontestable right to allow those who profess other religions the free exercise of them. It has also authority to determine, by positive dispositions, their reciprocal relations and the regards which the professors of different creeds ought to have towards one another ; and a good right to forbid the practices of proselytism, which it deems prejudicial to the public tranquillity and to the welfare of the state.'

"The Austrian Government then expressly commands that Catholics and Protestants shall, in their sermons, keep within due bounds, and abstain from all sarcastic and insulting expressions. Leaving its subjects at full liberty to pass from one Christian sect into another, it takes precautions to prevent violences, fraud, and precipitate deliberations. It laid down rules for resolving the doubts in what religion the children born of mixed marriages must be brought up, when that point was left unsettled, or the father is dead, &c. In short, it has done all that lay in its power to multiply occasions for encouraging conciliatory feelings, and thus establishing peace and concord between them.

"No new festival, holiday, or exercise of piety can be introduced without the permission of the Government. The pastoral letters of the bishops must be submitted to the Government before publication. Excommunication cannot be fulminated, neither can censures nor public and outward penances be inflicted, without the approbation and consent of the Government. The jurisdiction of the papal nuncios is not recognised. The permission of the Government is requisite for the admission of foreign priests to perform ecclesiastical functions in the

Austrian dominions. Austria wants no ignorant priests. A sufficient cultivation of mind is considered as indispensable for them and for the welfare of the people; accordingly, they are subjected under the inspection of the Government to regular studies and to determinate examinations, even in matters that are not ecclesiastical."

Such is the substance of the Austrian code in the regulation of the Roman Catholic Church. The effects are order and peace. Law stands in the place of the will of the priest, and while the Church has its rights, and the Priesthood all legitimate latitude, the laity are not the victims of tyranny or caprice."

No. II.

Ecclesiastical Laws of France.

"Napoleon negociated concordats with the Pope, but with considerable difficulty, though his Holiness was entirely in his power. Pius was an unwilling instrument. He bowed to the persuasion of a hundred thousand bayonets, yet did it with spiritual pride, making a parade all the while of an affected humility. Napoleon, on the other hand, had cause to regret that he consulted him at all. The Emperor, however, was not to be circumvented, and he carried his main points. The following is a summary of his system:—

"The worship of the Roman Catholic religion shall be public, conforming itself to the police regulations which the government shall deem necessary for the public tranquillity.

"The head of the state [Napoleon, then first consul] shall nominate to bishoprics and archbishoprics.

"Bishops and archbishops so nominated, before they enter

upon their functions, must take an oath of obedience and fidelity to the head of the state in person.

"Ecclesiastics of the second order take the same oath to the civil authorities designated by the government.

"Public prayers shall be made for the head of the state, and for the state itself.

"No persons can be chosen for parish priests without the approbation of the government.

"No bull, brief, rescript, mandate, provision, signature serving for provision, or any other papers transmitted by the Court of Rome, even though they concern private individuals only, can be received, published, printed, or otherwise carried into execution without the authorisation of the government.

"No person, styling himself nuncio, legate, apostolic vicar or commissioner, or assuming any other denomination, can, without the like authorisation, exercise upon the soil of France or elsewhere any function relating to the affairs of the Gallican Church.

"The decrees of foreign synods, not excepting those of general councils, cannot be published in France before the government has examined their form, their conformity with the laws, rights, and franchises of the French empire, and whatever might, in their publication, disturb or concern the public tranquillity.

"No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan synod, no deliberative assembly, can be held without the express permission of the government.

"All the ecclesiastical functions must be gratuitous, except the offerings which are to be authorized and fixed by regulations.

"Recourse is to be had to the council of state in all cases of abuses on the part of superiors and other ecclesiastical persons, and such cases must be detailed at length. Under this head are specified contraventions of the laws and regulations of the state, violations of the liberties, franchises, and customs of the Gallican Church, and all enterprises or proceedings which, in the exercise of religion, are liable to compromise the honour of citizens, to disturb their consciences arbitrarily, or to degenerate into oppression or injury towards them, or into public scandal.

"The Roman Catholic religion is exercised under the direction of archbishops and bishops in their dioceses, and under that of curés in their parishes.

"With the exception of the chapters of cathedrals and seminaries, all other ecclesiastical establishments are suppressed. [Thus there could be no convent or monastery, no fraternity, society of Jesus, congregation, &c.]

"The bishops nominated are examined on the subject of their doctrine by a bishop and two priests commissioned by the head of the state, who address the result of their examination to the minister charged with all affairs that concern religion.

"The priest nominated bishop by the head of the state, must use all diligence to obtain institution from the Pope. He cannot perform any function till the bull signifying his institution has received the signature of the government, and he has taken in person the oath mentioned in the concordat.

"The bishops nominate and institute the curés: nevertheless, they do not make known their nomination, or grant canonical institution, till such nomination has been approved by the head of the state.

"They are held bound to reside in their dioceses, which they must not leave without the permission of the head of the state.

"Those who are chosen as teachers in the seminaries, must subscribe the declaration made by the clergy of France in 1682, and published by an edict in the same year.* They submit to

"* This is in substance as follows:—

"Kings and princes are not subject in temporal matters to the ecclesiastical power, and they cannot be deposed directly or indirectly by the authority of the heads of the Church, nor their subjects released from the fidelity and allegiance which they owe them.

"The decrees of the council of Constance, on the authority of the general councils, must remain in their force and virtue, and the Church of France does not approve of those who assert that those decrees are doubtful, that they have not been approved, or that they were made only for times of schism.

"The usage of the ecclesiastical power ought to be tempered by the canons: besides those, the regulations, customs, and laws received in the Gallican Church must be observed.

"Lastly, though the Sovereign Pontiff has the largest share in questions of

teach the doctrine contained therein, and the bishops address the form of submission duly filled up to the minister charged with all affairs relating to religion.

"The bishops send every year to this minister the names of all persons studying in the seminaries, and who are destined for the ecclesiastical profession.

"They cannot ordain any ecclesiastic, unless he proves that he has an income of 300 francs (£12.), has attained the age of 25 years, and possesses the qualities required by the canons received in France.

"The bishops confer no ordination till the number of the persons to be ordained has been submitted to the government and approved by it.

"The curés cannot enter upon their functions till they have taken the prescribed oath to the government.

"The curés are immediately subject to the bishops in the exercise of their functions. They are bound to reside in their parishes.

"The vicaires (the curates) exercise their ministry under the superintendence and direction of the curés. They are approved by the bishop, and revocable by him.

"No foreigner can be employed in the ecclesiastical ministry without the permission of the government.

"An ecclesiastic not belonging to any diocese is forbidden to perform the clerical functions, though a Frenchman.

"A priest cannot leave his diocese to do duty in another without the permission of his bishop.

"The authorisation of the government must be obtained as well for the establishment of the chapters, as for the number and the choice of the ecclesiastics destined to form them.

"During the vacancy of sees, the metropolitan, or in default of him, the oldest of the suffragan bishops shall provide for the government of the dioceses.

"The metropolitans and the cathedral chapters are required to signify without delay to the government the vacancy of sees, and

faith, and his decrees extend to all the churches and each of them individually, still his judgment is not infallible, if it is not followed by the consent of the whole Church."

the measures which have been taken for the government of the vacant diocese.

"There is but one liturgy and one catechism for all the churches of France.

"No curé can order extraordinary public prayers in his parish without the special permission of the bishop.

"No holiday, excepting Sunday, can be established without the permission of the government.

"No ecclesiastics, who are not bishops, can, in any case or under any pretext, assume the distinctive colour or marks of bishops.—The object of this clause was to exclude certain agents of the court of Rome, having the quality of apostolic prothonotaries, or different degrees of the prelacy.

"Domestic chapels, or private oratories, cannot be established without the express permission of the government, granted on the application of the bishop.—This provision is designed to exclude altars and other oratories, which are sometimes seen in the streets, in shops, on the staircases of houses, near certain rocks, or certain wells—devotions which serve only to foster superstition among the people.

"No religious ceremony shall take place out of the edifices consecrated to the Catholic religion in the towns where there are places of worship belonging to different professions.

"In the cathedrals there shall be a conspicuous place for holding civil or military authorities.

"The bishop shall settle with the prefect the manner of calling the faithful to Divine service by the sound of the bells. They must not be rung for any other cause, without the permission of the local police.

"When the government orders public prayers, the bishops shall arrange with the prefect and the military commandant the place, day, hour, and mode for the execution of these orders.

"Solemn preachings, called sermons, and those known by the name of stations, in Advent and Lent, shall not be held by any but priests who have obtained a special authorisation from the bishop.—The object of this disposition is to exclude itinerant preachers.

"The curés, in their services of parochial masses, shall pray and cause prayers to be said for the state and the head of the state. They shall not introduce into their instructions any inculpation, direct or indirect, against persons, or against other religious professions authorised in the state; neither shall they make any publication not connected with religious exercises, excepting such as are ordered by the government. They shall not give the nuptial benediction to any who do not produce a certificate in due form, that they have contracted marriage before the civil officer.

"The circumscription of parishes and all changes in that circumscription, as well as the establishment of chapels of ease, require the approbation of the government. The priests doing the duty of chapels of ease shall be appointed by the bishops.

"The salary of the archbishops is 15,000f. (£600. sterling); the salary of bishops, 10,000f. (£400. sterling). The curés are divided into two classes: the salary of the curés of the first class amounts to 1500f. (£60. sterling); that of the curés of the second class to 1000f. (£40. sterling). All these ecclesiastical functionaries in France have now higher salaries, in consequence of new grants by the government, or of sums voted for them by the general councils of the large communes, and approved by the government.

"The bishop shall draw up regulations relative to the fees which the ministers of religion are authorised to receive for the administrations of the sacraments. These regulations of the bishops shall not be published, or otherwise carried into execution till they have been approved by the government.

"Every ecclesiastic paid by the state shall be deprived of his pension, if he refuses without legitimate cause, to perform the functions that may be assigned to him.

"Foundations destined for the support of the ministers and the exercise of public worship cannot be carried into effect without the authorisation of the government.

"Funds shall be established for the maintenance and conservation of the places of worship and the distribution of alms."

The following observations are adopted from a London Journal:—

"In Prussia, Russia, and other states, Roman Catholicism is also subjected to control and regulation: there is no safety for *any* independent state without such precaution.

"Now, enough is here shewn to prove that Romanism *will submit when it cannot do otherwise;* but if it can domineer, it will domineer; and, as in Ireland, incessantly labour to disturb and subvert the state (especially if that state be Protestant) which is so weak as to give it latitude. If the state be Roman, then it aspires to control, and openly dictates whenever it has the power. Where it cannot tyrannise it will *crawl.* But it is almost equally dangerous in either position.

"Now, what is there to prevent the British parliament, at the instance of a firm government, from subjecting Roman Catholicism in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to an ecclesiastical code on the *principle* of those of Austria and the French empire?

"The conduct of the priests, with regard to repeal, proves that they aim at the dismemberment of the empire, and consequent supremacy.

"Every person who pays the least attention to the signs of the times, must be convinced that the claims of the Romish clergy have no limits; that concession to them is but the forerunner of fresh demands; that nothing short of absolute dominion will satisfy their boundless ambition; that without some such restrictive measures and regulations as have been found indispensably necessary by Roman Catholic sovereigns themselves, Ireland must, at no distant day, be urged by the clamours of the Popish priesthood, seconded by unprincipled demagogues, into active rebellion. It is evident that, under the present system, there can be no peace for that country, no security for the empire in general. Forbearance will have no more effect than it had to allay the repeal agitation, and only serve to excite contempt for a government which can be weak enough to resort to it. The history of past ages, the experience of the

present time, furnishes incontestable evidence that decisive measures, that fear alone, are capable of compelling that reluctant submission which is paid by Papists to (what they term) heretic rulers; that nothing but a resolute spirit and a strong hand can control and counteract principles, maxims, prejudices, and antipathies, subversive of all obedience to professors of another creed, which it is the business of their religion to inculcate and to foster.

"England owes this course to her own character with the world at large. The howl of oppression has been so long and loudly raised by the Irish Romish priesthood and their tools, that the fact of oppression is in other countries taken for granted, without examination. England, by a comprehensive act of the Imperial legislature, should proclaim to the nations, as well as to the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland, that its object is complete toleration in religious matters; but that at the same time it is determined to exact due subordination to the laws, and an observance of the rules of civilised life in return for equal civil rights."

No. III.

We shall here shew the working of Popish voluntaryism in Ireland; its intolerable pressure upon the poor Roman Catholic population, and the avarice of those, to maintain whose usurped dignities it is employed.

The authority from which we take this information (says the London *Morning Herald*), is a letter which was lately addressed by a Roman Catholic clergyman, to his co-religionists, complaining of the course which has been taken by the Romish hierarchy in Ireland, in rejecting, without any concurrence, or even consultation with the body of the priesthood, the proposed, or at least mooted, government provision, in lieu of the present system. The writer maintains that the great bulk of the Romish clergy

would gladly accept such state provision, or any provision which would free them from the rapacity of their superiors ; and he proceeds to shew the interested motives by which, on the part of the bishops, such refusal has been prompted, by the fact that, "*No ministry, however profligate of the means of the state, could dream of allowing them, for the maintenance of their episcopal dignity,*" so much as they at present exact from the people.—We give the heads of these exactions, as laid down by the writer—remember, reader, a Roman Catholic priest.

"1st. In the first instance, they must be paid 5*s.* 6*d.* for every pauper who marries in his diocese; and, no matter whether the parish priest, in the conscientious discharge of the power vested in him, marries a couple *gratis*, seeing after that, unless he does so, the parties will live in public sin, to the great injury of religion, yet the Romish priest must account to the Bishop for every marriage, whether rich or poor. Should the parties be in good circumstances, the Bishop insists on a proportionate share of the marriage fees."

"2nd. *For dispensations in the prohibited degrees of kindred, both thin consanguinity and affinity* according to the proximity or remoteness of the relationship, bishops get from £3. to £5., according to the state in life and nature of the circumstances of the contracting parties."

"3rd. Bishops select and set apart two or three of the best parishes in the diocese for their own use, which in ecclesiastical parlance, are designated Mensal parishes, that is, to enable those dignitaries to support their establishments, and sustain the pomp of their station in the church."

"4th. Bishops get from £3. to £6. for every altar in every parish under their spiritual control; and this money is called 'Praxis money.'"

"5th. Along with so much from the parish priest, they must get from one to two guineas from every curate, according to the supposed means of his curacy."

"6th. Bishops get from every clergyman whom they may appoint to a parish, thirty or forty guineas, or more, according

to the nature of the benefice to which the clergyman may be collated. This is called 'Collation money,' according to our language, and is the same as the money the tenants give for the leases of their houses and farms."

"7th. In some parts of Ireland, it is the practice for every clergyman to pay £1. or 10*s*, for the bishop's servant. Thus it is notorious, that the servant only gets a small salary out of the fund; but the remainder goes, of course, to maintain the dignity of the mitre."

"8th. Bishops, in fine, have and take to themselves the annual Christmas and Easter collections made at their Mensal chapels, and do not allow their curates or administrators, one shilling of it to support themselves."

These are a goodly collection of profitable items, which this Roman Catholic clergyman instructs us how to sum up—thus:—

"There are in every diocese, arch and suffragan, with very few exceptions—such as Galway, Kilmacduagh, and Killala, at least 60 or 70 parishes, and every parish produces at an average 100 marriages. Every parish has 3 or 4 altars—the annual average of vacancies may vary from 10 to 16. Now let the marriage fees, the fees for kindred, the praxis money for every altar, the collative charges, the receipt of the Mensal parishes, the nominal servant's collection, the curate's episcopal dues—let all this money be added together, and the public will be able to say that the bishops are right to oppose with all their power, any state provision for the Irish hierarchy."

We will endeavour to make the calculation for the worthy and communicative priest, whose life, we fear, in the present unhappy state of Ireland is not worth many years purchase:—

YEARLY REVENUE OF AN IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP.

Sixty parishes averaging 100 marriages each, at 5s. 6d. per marriage	£1650	0	0
Say, praxis money for 60 parishes, with 3 altars each, at £4. each	720	0	0
Ditto for curates at £1. 10*s* each	270	0	0

Twelve vacancies per annum, collative money—or query, bribe (?) from each fortunate candidate, 30 guineas each	378	0	0
Bishop's servants, say 60 parishes with altars, at 5*s.* each	45	0	0
Ascertainable regular income of each Pope-intruded titular	£3063	0	0

A sum considerably more than he would receive as his share of any government provision, and this too, well paid; for, each bishop receives his money all in a bulk at the several visitations, from the several parish priests, or from the "vicars foreign" generally appointed to the several deaneries to dispense in "Bans," and collect episcopal fees.

Three thousand and odd pounds per annum of regular income for each of the bishops under a "voluntary system;" and this with the items taken at the lowest estimate. The highest would give us four thousand at least, and then add the proceeds of the two or three Mensal parishes—the best in the various districts—and which may be fairly put down at seven or eight hundred per annum; the fees for dispensations, which we have no data for estimating, and other miscellaneous and casual sources of episcopal income, and without doubt, it will be seen that an Irish Roman Catholic Bishop, is a much better paid personage than the world has generally supposed he could be in a country so miserably poor; but is it not evident, that this is one of the causes of the poverty and privations so long endured by the deluded Irish?

And now let us see from the same authority—who can be contradicted if he has spoken more than the truth—how their Reverences, the priesthood, contrive to maintain themselves in good case. We quote verbatim from the same writer:—

"1st. In the first place, parish priests charge every householder, rich and poor 2*s.* 2*d.* a year as their confession dues; and a day is set apart for every village twice a year, at Christmas and Easter, to receive the people's confessions, and to collect the 2*s.* 2*d.* from every head of a family."

"2nd. It is also a matter of course, whether rich or poor, to have *a good dinner and breakfast, with plenty of whiskey, for the clergy and clerks on that day.*"

"3rd. The parish priest charges 2*s.* 6*d.* for every baptism."

"4th. Parish priests get £1. 10*s* or £2. *for every marriage they perform,* and *if they have not the cash, they are allowed to cohabit in sin until they make it out.*"

"5th. The parish priest *makes collections at every wedding.*"

"6th. *At every funeral, they insist on the relatives contributing very largely on those occasions.* No notice is taken of any person, nor is any respect shewn for him, *who does not pay* 2*s.* 6*d.* or 5*s.* at the plate collections."

"7th. They make large collections at their chapels at Christmas and Easter, and *read out from the altars the names of all who contribute, and non-contributers also.*"

"8th. They collect corn from every village in their parish, and in some parts, they oblige their curates to gather it for them without any thanks. If we add together the 2*s.* 2*d.* station money, the 2*s.* 6*d.* baptism fee, the marriage money, the collections at funerals and weddings, the offerings at chapels at Christmas and Easter, the result of the 'borane scouring'—if all this be reduced to one item, it will appear that they will join the bishops in opinion, and say, that a state provision would be a great evil. It would be a sore one to them, and hence their maxim is, nihil innovatur."

If what is given above be a *false statement,* let the Irish Roman Catholic bishops prove to the satisfaction of Romanists, and the world, in general, that it is so.

No. IV.

It is necessary here to observe, although the world in general are not aware of it, that a serious *schism* has actually happened in the Roman branch of the Church of Christ. Nothing but the fear of this occurring has prevented many members of that communion, from long ere this taking

effectual measures for redressing what they have such just reason to complain of. In making these remarks, we particularly allude to the German members of the Church of Rome, who must have a very strong case, or they could not be brought to adopt the measures they now contemplate. There are four points upon which they have for some time been insisting; and which, if they carry, very few of the errors and corruptions of Romanism would remain, to prevent them from joining in the services, and adopting a German translation of the liturgy of the Church of England, provided it be found perfectly *scriptural*,—First, that public worship shall be performed in all countries in the vernacular tongue; secondly, that the cup shall be given, as well as the bread, in the sacrament to the laity; thirdly, that, on account of the many iniquities practised at it by the priesthood, the going to the confessional shall not be compulsory; fourthly, that vows of celibacy shall not be obligatory on the clergy, or rather, why shall they be required to take them?

We cannot give here the arguments by which these enlightened Germans are well able to maintain the position which they assume; but, the effects that this must have upon the minds of mankind, are obvious; especially, when the extent of the immorality of the clergy, which can no longer be concealed, is so great throughout Germany, that it is considered a good sign of a priest if he is known to keep a mistress without causing any public scandal, and no notice is taken of him. If, however, she lies in at the parsonage, or if they quarrel so that a disturbance is produced, then he is removed to another parish; if the same thing occurs a second time, the same treatment is pursued; if it is repeated a third time, he is degraded; all employment and means of livelihood are taken from him; and many, in such a state, are to be seen throughout Germany breaking stones on the roads, or serving as private soldiers in the army.

"These, however," says the *Quarterly Review*, for June 1844, to which we are chiefly indebted for the above information —"are not the immoralities which produce upon the minds of bishops, such effects as have been above described. They are

such as cannot be put upon paper: hideous, unnameable crimes—committed in the most holy places, because supposed to be the most secure from the eye of man, regardless of the eye of God. In Italy, such offences, when not screened by some powerful patron, are punished by incarceration in a convent, with fastings amounting to *starving*, and repeated flagellation, which frequently terminates in death. But in Germany, no such power exists; more liberal, but less cruel; more tolerant, both of good and evil." This state of morals is not peculiar to any particular diocese, but, we rejoice to hear that German ecclesiastics are themselves resolved to bring these things to light, "as proofs of the effects of the confessional, of the necessary studies of the priests, and of the vows of celibacy upon the morals of the clergy; and they will draw their proofs not from one diocese here and another diocese there, but from all dioceses; not from the last years only, but from the uninterrupted course of the last century. It is a remarkable feature in the case, that all the profligate clergy are strongly in favour of the continuance of the law of celibacy, whilst all the moral clergy are for abolishing it. The Protestants in these dioceses generally say that, that is in order that they may continue their flagitious courses in a way which it would be more difficult to do, if they were married; but that is not the real ground of their resistance. They resist it because they know that it is popular at head-quarters to resist it; and they take the side of the authorities at Rome, in order to make friends to themselves of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may in their turn be befriended."

"No Pope," it is said, "ever ascended the chair with better intentions than the present one; (Gregory the Sixteenth, lately dead), but he was elected, as has long been the rule, when old and enfeebled, and proved accordingly unfit to make any effectual struggle against the inveterate *malaria* of the system about him. There is, perhaps, much genuine piety and virtue in Rome, but there is also a great deal of wickedness and infidelity, and these are only the more pernicious by reason of the

hypocrisy which does, and must result from the composition of a society in which the most prominent persons are at once professed courtiers or place-hunters, and ecclesiastics,"——therefore, "come anything, rather than a general searching exposure of any class of facts involving the priesthood as a class! Anything rather than an exposure as must end in convincing lay Romanists that the Holy See, has for centuries upheld, as part and parcel of the Divine Law, a regulation necessitating the habitual violation of the plainest precepts of religion and morality, on the part of an order claiming exclusive reverence and submission, as the delegates of heaven,"—thus, *the Court of Rome remains determined that nothing shall be listened to from any quarter on the subject of that grand radical evil—the enforced celibacy of the clergy.*

This is useful information to mankind in general, but, in proof, that the poor Pope's alarm and distress, on account of the above, are not groundless, and also of what his conclave experienced as to what must inevitably be the effect of a general circulation of a *genuine copy of the Bible, or Word of God,* in the vernacular tongue of all countries, we take the liberty of copying what follows from the London "*Morning Herald*:"—

"The burden of MR. LEVER'S popular song, "The Pope, he leads a happy life," is certainly not true of the present Pontiff. GREGORY the SIXTEENTH'S lines are cast in any but pleasant places. His troubles rival those of the Grand Turk. The Jews of Ancona lately roused his ire and provoked their own persecution; next, the wretched misgovernment of the Legations disturbed the tranquillity of Monsignore MAURI CAPELLARI; and now, his reverence, in full dress and crook in hand, has taken fright at a less mundane cause of alarm than industrious Jews or discontented subjects. What's that? The old cause—the cause that struck terror into the heart of PIUS V., that made LEO XII. shake in his "shoes," and that provoked the bile of PIUS VIII.—the cause against which General Councils have legislated, and the whole Romish priesthood is confederated—simply THE BIBLE. Nothing more. The most timid of his in-

fallible predecessors were not more alarmed at the circulation of the Bible than is the infallible GREGORY XVI., though some of them have, it is certain, been more rational and cautious in giving expression to their fright.—"From the basilic of St. Peter, on the 8th of May, of the year 1844," the POPE has denounced the circulation of the Bible in terms more absurd and wicked than those of Dr. SLOP'S curse. So at least we learn from a Tractarian journal, which, as in duty bound to MR. NEWMAN, transfers to its columns from a Romanist print the "Circular Letters from his Holiness the POPE to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops," a document equally distinguished for inane verbosity of style and anti-Christianism in object; which is as lengthy and illogical as it is iniquitous; and is only more discreditable to his infallibility's theology than it is to his secular learning.

"Aud yet this papal denunciation of the Holy Scripture is really not without its uses at present; like SIR ROBERT PEEL'S facts, it has been dropped at the proper season. It may tend to shew how unchangeable is the anti-Christian spirit of Rome; how vain and baseless are all Tractarian hopes, how muchsoever fostered by Dr. WISEMAN, that Rome may now become 'other than she is,' if we will only turn our faces Romeward; how dangerous and treacherous it is in English churchmen to conceal or to mitigate her faults and errors, and in their stead to bring into bold relief and to magnify as characteristic of her alone those glorious traits of which even her heresy has not deprived Christianity in her hand; and how uncandid and false are the declaration of her crafty priesthood, that the Bible is not attempted to be made a sealed book to her laity. For in this very 'circular letter' there is abundant evidence that Rome still abides by those fearful fallacies that have condemned her to everlasting shame; in the first paragraph the dissemination of the Scripture is held by the POPE to be tantamount to the withholding of 'the faith;' in the fourth, tradition is distinctly placed on an equality with the written revelation of GOD, and declared to rightfully control the construction of the Scriptures; in a series of paragraphs the

duty of the Church is described as consisting in 'teaching,' and not in causing the Bible to be read; then the bishops are commended for their unceasing cautions to their flocks 'against the insidious manœuvres of the Bible Societies,' and their solicitude to prevent the perusal of the Bible is said to 'have been blessed by the LORD.' The exertions of the American *Christian League* against Romanism in its stronghold, Italy, aim, we are told, at propagating 'an insane indifference to all religion.' It is, indeed, against those exertions that the paper pellets of the Vatican are now chiefly directed, and after a fashion worthy of Romanist learning. Listen:—

"'This society strains every nerve to introduce amongst them, by means of individuals collected from all parts, corrupt and vulgar Bibles, and to scatter them secretly amongst the faithful. At the same time their intention is to disseminate *worse books still*, or tracts designed to withdraw from the minds of their readers all respect for the Church and the Holy See.'

"'Worse books' than the Bible! So, then the Bible, in the language of the country in which it is circulated, is, by a solemn decree of GREGORY XVI., pronounced to be a bad book! And because its circulation is held to be destructive of 'all respect for the Church and the Holy See,' the decrees 'delivered in former times by apostolic authority against the publication, distribution, reading, and possession of books of the Holy Scripture translated in the vulgar tongue'—mark there is no limitation as to what translation—are renewed by the present Pontiff. Accordingly the bishops are directed and enjoined—

"'To remove from the hands of the faithful alike the Bibles in the vulgar tongue, which may have been printed contrary to the decrees above-mentioned of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and every book proscribed and condemned, and to see that they learn, through your admonition and authority, *what pasturages are salutary and what pernicious and mortal.*'"—

"Bible 'pasturage' being of course, 'pernicious and mortal.' The frontiers of Italy—'especially those whence travellers enter' —have to be watched by the episcopal douaniers to prevent an

illegal importation of Bibles. And with a consciousness that spiritual intervention is at best ineffectual to stay the downfall of Rome, the interference of the secular and persecuting hand of the Italian Princes is thus craftily solicited :—

" 'Let us not doubt but your exertions, added to our own, will be seconded by the civil authorities, and especially by the most influential sovereigns of Italy, no less by reason of their favourable regard for the Catholic religion, than that they plainly perceived how much it concerns them to frustrate these sectarian combinations. Indeed, it is most evident from past experience, that there are no means more certain of rendering the people disobedient to their princes than rendering them indifferent to religion under the mask of religious liberty.'

" What a deep sigh for the Inquisition is there here !

" Such are Romanist Christianity, tolerance, and logic in the 19th century ! Nevertheless, there are men in England—churchmen, too, who are ready to fall down and worship Monsignore MAURI CAPELLARI as an infallibility."

No. V.

ADOPTED FROM DR. SMITH'S LIFE OF ST. COLUMBA.

To the great success of Columba, the instruments employed under him must have contributed not a little. His disciples were men of learning, as well as of zeal and piety. He chose men of this stamp for his first associates ; and his own seminaries furnished him afterwards with a sufficient supply of the same kind. Learning, when he set out in life, was in a very flourishing state in Ireland. In many of the lives of the Irish saints, written in that age, we read of numerous schools, well attended, and taught by learned and aged masters ; which could not have been the case, if, as some maintain, letters had been introduced into the country no sooner than the time of St. Patrick. So general a diffusion of learning, and such an acquaintance with the learned languages as Columba's masters and his

contemporaries possessed, could not possibly have taken place in so short a period. But without entering further into this subject at present, it is enough to say, that Columba found and chose men of learning, as well as of zeal and piety, to superintend his seminaries, and to conduct his missions; while he himself, with unwearied diligence, went occasionally from province to province, through the whole of his immense dioceses.

He was at great pains to select the most promising youths, and the children of pious parents, for his disciples. The course of education and probation prescribed by him was usually very long; so that the learning as well as the piety and prudence of every candidate was well proved before he was intrusted with the cure of souls. A man, who thought himself already qualified for entering into orders, was obliged by Columba to spend no less than seven years more in education and preparation before he could be ordained to the sacred office. Sanctity and zeal, when thus accompanied with learning, could not fail to make the disciples of Columba both respected and useful.

The instituting of schools and seminaries of learning, in which men were thus prepared for the ministry, and trained up from their infancy to the duties of their office, and kept in them till their character was duly formed, and their qualifications well known and proved, had a powerful tendency to make their future labours successful.

(It is to be regretted that it cannot now be ascertained what could have been the opinions of Columba and his successors as to the doctrine maintained by the English Reformers, regarding "Baptismal Regeneration," and to which such great importance is now-a-days attached by High Churchmen; whereas the Evangelical, or Low Churchmen—infinitely outnumbering the former—maintain it to be a "*soul-endangering and ensnaring doctrine, not supported by Scripture.*" This is causing so alarming a schism in the Church of England, and so seriously disturbing its peace, that it is high time a *General Council*, composed not of Bishops only, but of the priested Clergy also, should be convened to settle the point in dispute, which, with that of Apostolic

Succession, is rapidly increasing the ranks of dangerous dissent, and driving many weak-minded and injudicious persons to embrace Romanism.)

Another circumstance which greatly contributed to the success of Columba, especially in Ireland, was the high rank of many of his disciples. A great number of them were, like himself, of the family of Conal Gulbann, son of Niall Naoighealbach, (or 'Neil of the Nine Hostages') monarch of Ireland. Hence, many of the nobility not only embraced but preached the gospel, and ranked themselves among the followers and disciples of Columba. It was then the fashion among great men to be great saints; a fashion which is long of coming round again, although one should think that self-preservation might now give the alarm, and help to bring it about.

Among the circumstances which conduced to Columba's success, may be mentioned the unusual length to which the lives of many holy men, who then preached the gospel, were preserved. Their extreme temperance, constant exercise, and inward joy and serenity of mind, would no doubt contribute to health and long life. But that the duration of it, accompanied with health and usefulness, should have been so long as we find from a variety of concurring testimonies it often was, can be ascribed only to the kind and particular providence of God being peculiarly concerned about their preservation.

Of Columba's own scholars or disciples, above one hundred were sainted, and their festivals observed by the gratitude of those places which they benefited by their labours, as we find from the accounts given of them by various authors. The following is—

A LIST OF THE MOST EMINENT OF COLUMBA'S IMMEDIATE DISCIPLES AND CONTEMPORARIES.

(The Twelve who came with Columba at first to Iona are marked thus *).

St. Aidan, or Aodhan, son of Libher; afterwards bishop of Lindisfarn. Bed. l. iii.

St. Aidan, son of Kein, abbot of Cuil-uisc. (There are twenty-seven saints of this name).

St. Ailbhe, son of Ronan.

St. Aonghus, of Dermagh.

St. Baithan, of Doire-chalguich.

St. Baithen, son of Brendan, abbot of Hi.

St. Barrind, abbot of Kill-barrind,

St. Becan, son of Ernan, brother of Cumin Fionn.

St. Bec, or Beg-bhile, son of Tighearnach.

St. Berach, a monk of Hi; abbot of Cluain-choirpe.

St. Berchan, or Barchan. Ad. iii. 21.

St. Bran, or Branni', in Doire-chalguich, nephew of Columba.

St. Cailten, of Kill-diun or Dimha, at Loch-ava.

*St. Carnan, son of Brandubh.

*St. Ceata, or Catan; supposed by some to be the bishop Ceadan of Bede; by others the Cetheus, surnamed Peregrinus, said by Herman. Greven, to have suffered martyrdom in Italy.

St. Ceallach, bishop of the Mercians, in England.

St. Cobhran, son of Enan, nephew of Columba.

*St. Cobhthach, son of Brendan, and brother of St. Baithen.

St. Colgu, or Colgan, of Kill-cholgan, in Connaught.

St. Colgan, son of Aodh Draighneach, a monk of Hi.

St. Collan, of Dermagh.

St. Colman, or Columan, founder of the mon. of Snamhluthir.

St. Colman, abbot of Hi, and afterwards of Lindisfarn.

St. Colman, son of Comhgell; who died in 620.

St. Colman, abbot of Re.

St. Colman, son of Enan.

St. Colman, son of Tighearnach, brother to Begbhille Connan and Cuan.

St. Colman, son of Ronan.

St. Colum Crag, of Enach in Ulster.

St. Coman, or Comhan, brother to St. Cumin.

St. Comgan (or Caomhghan), son of Deghille, and sister's son of Columba.

St. Conall, abbot of Innis-caoil, in Tirconnel.

St. Conna, or Connn, surnamed Dil, son of Tighearnach.
St. Conacht, son of Maoldraighneach.
St. Conrach, Mac-Kein, of Dermagh monastery.
St. Constantin, or Cusandin, king of Cornubia, said by Fordun to have presided over the monastery of Govan, upon Clyde, and to have converted the people of Kintyre, where he says he suffered martyrdom.
St. Cormac Hua Liethain, abbot of Darmagh.
St. Corman, said to have been the first missionary to the Northumbrians : flourished, A. D. 630.
St. Cuannan, abbot of Kill-chuannain, in Connaught.
St. Cuan, or Coan, son of Tighearnach.
St. Cuchumin Mac-kein, abbot of Hi.
St. Cumin, surnamed Fionn, or Fair, abbot of Hi, who wrote Columba's life.
St. Dachonna, abbot of Eas-mac-neirc.
St. Dallan Forguill, formerly a bard or poet.
St. Dermit, of the descendants of K. Leogaire.
St. Dima, afterwards a bishop of the Mercians in England.
*St. Eochadh, or Eochadh Tolannan.
St. Enna, son of Nuadhan, abbot of Imleachfoda, in Connaught.
*St. Ernan, uncle to Columba, and abbot of Himba.
St. Ernan, abbot of Drim-tuam, in Tirconnel.
St. Ernan, abbot of Torrachan ; of the race of K. Niall.
St. Ernan, of Teach-Ernain.
B. Eoghan, or Eoghanan, a Pictish presbyter.
St. Failbhe, abbot of Hi.
St. Farrannan, abbot of All-Farannain, in Connaught.
St. Fiachna, of Acha-luing, Ethica.
St. Fechno, son of Rodan : flour. 580. Martyr. Anglic.
St. Fergna (Virgnous), abbot of Hi.
St. Finan, surnamed Lobhar ; abbot of Sourd, near Dublin.
St. Finan, or Finthan, abbot of Rath, in Tirconnel.
St. Finan, or Fennin, abbot of Magh-chosgain.

St. Finan, an anchorite; supposed by some to be the same with the preceding.

St. Finan, who succeeded Aidan as bishop of Lindisfarn.

St. Finbarr, abbot of Drim-choluim, in Connaught.

St. Finnchan, abbot of Ardchaoin.

St. Finnlugan, a monk of Hi.

St. Finten, son of Aodh, founder of the mon. of Caille-Abhind.

B. Genere, or Gueren, a Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon.

*St. Grellan, son of Rodan, or Grellan Aoibhleach.

St. Hilary, or Elaire, son of Fintan, and brother of St. Aidan.

St. Lasran, son of Feradach; abbot of Darmagh.

St. Lasran, called Hortulanus, or Gardener.

St. Lasran, son of Deghille, and brother of St. Bran.

St. Lasran, or Lasar, son of Ronan.

St. Libhran, from Connaught.

St. Loman, of Lochuair.

St. Luga Ceanaladh, a monk of Hi.

*St. Lugaide, of Cluain-laogh.

St. Lugaid, abbot of Cluain-finchoil.

St. Lugaid, surnamed Laidir, of Tir-da-chraobh.

St. Lugbe Mac-cumin, a monk of Hi, abbot of Elen-nao'.

St. Lugbe Mac-Blai', a monk of Hi.

St. Lughne Mac-cumin, brother of St. Lugbe.

St. Lughne Mac-Blai', brother of Lugbe Mac-Blai'.

St. Mernoc, or Marnoc, of Cluain-reilgeach.

St. Miril, sister's son of Columba.

St. Maolchus, brother to St. Mernoc.

St. Maoldubh, of Cluin-chonair.

St. Maoldubh, son of Enan.

St. Moab, or Abban, his brother.

B. Maolcomha, son of Aodh Mac-Aimirich, from a king became a monk.

St. Maol-Odhrain, a monk of Hi.

B. Maol-umha, son of Beothan, king of Ireland, a monk of Hi.

St. Mochonna, son of Fiachna, king of Ulster, afterwards a Pictish bishop.

*St. Mac-cuthen, said by Usher to have wrote a life of St. Patrick.

St. Moluan, a monk of Hi.

St. Moluoc, of the race of Conal Gulbann, bishop of Lismore, died in 588.

St. Mothorian, abbot of Drim-cliabh.

St. Munna, son of Tulchan, abbot of Teachmhunna.

St. Pilo, an Anglo-Saxon, a monk of Hi.

*St. Odhran, who died soon after he came to Hi, 27th October.

St. Ossin, or Ossian, abbot of Cluain-mor. There were several saints of this name. A poetical dialogue between one of this name and St. Patrick is still repeated, which Colgan (p.215.) observes could not have been composed by the son of Fingal, who lived long before.

*St. Rus, or Russen, styled by Maguir "de insulis Pictorum."

*St. Scandal, son of Bresal, abbot of Kill-chobhrain.

St. Segin, son of Fiachri, abbot of Hi.

St. Segen, son of Ronan, abbot of Bangor in 664.

St. Senach, half-brother of Columba, abbot of Doire-brosgaidh.

St. Senan, a monk of Darmagh.

St. Sillean, son of Neman, a monk of Hi.

St. Suibhne, son of Curtre, abbot of Hi.

St. Ternoc, of Ari-molt, near Loch-Ern, in Ulster.

*St. Torannan, afterwards abbot of Bangor, as Colgan thinks.

St. Trenan Mac-Rintir, a monk of Hi.

B. Tulchan, father of St. Munna, &c. who followed his sons to Hi.

Those who wish to know more of these saints, may consult Colgan, Cathald, Maguir, Gorman, the Martyrologies of Dun-

gallan, Tamlact, &c. &c., with the authors cited by them, but surely from these notices of Columba, and of his disciples, we may well apply to him the beginning of his own ode to Ciaran.

Quantum, Christe ! apostolum
Mundo misisti hominem ?
Lucerna hujus insulæ, &c.

A great apostle sent by God
Hath blessed this isle with light ;
His beams, diffused through all the land,
Dispelled the gloom of night.

We next give a chronicle of some events connected with the Monastery of Hi, or Iona. From the annals of Quatuor Mag. Ulster, Colgan, Ir, Martyrologies, &c. &c.

A. D.

563 St. Columba arrived in Hi, on Pentecost eve.
563 St. Odhran dies, 27th of October.
572 Conall, king of the Scots, who gave Hi to Columba, died.
574 The great Council of Drimkeat was held.
583 Brude, son of Maolchan, king of the Picts, died.
597 St. Columba, the apostle of Albin, died ; ætat. 77.
600 St. Baithen, son of Brendan, abbot of Hi, died.
601 St. Laisran, son of Feradach, abbot of Hi, died.
622 St. Fergna, surnamed the Briton, abbot of Hi, died.
635 St. Aidan (Mac Libher) and others, set out for England from Iona, at the desire of king Oswald, to convert his people to Christianity.
651 St. Segin son of Fiachri, abbot of Hi, died.
658 St. Aidan, bishop or abbot of Lindisfarn in England, died. (A number of his successors, as Cellach, Fintan, Dima, Colman, &c. were also from Hi.)

659 St. Suibhne, son of Curtre, abbot of Hi, died.

660 St. Colman became abbot of Hi, but soon after went to be abbot of Lindisfarn, which he resigned in 664, and returned to Hi; after which he went to Ireland, and built the monasteries of Innse-bofionn and Magheo.

668 St. Cumin (Fionn) abbot of Hi, the biographer of Columba, died.

677 St. Failbhe, abbot of Hi, died.

684 Adomnan (or Adhamhnan), abbot of Hi, goes to reclaim from the Anglo-Saxons some captives and plunder; was honourably received, and obtained all he wanted.

686 St. Adomnan, on a second embassy, got 60 captives restored from the Saxons to Ireland.

695 St. Adomnan holds a Synod in Ireland; the acts of which are called "The Canons of Adomnan."

703 St. Adoman, abbot of Hi, and biographer of Columba, died, ætat. 78.

708 St. Conamhal, or Conain, son of Fialbhe, abbot of Hi, died.

710 St. Caide, or Caidan, abbot of Hi, died.

713 St. Dorbhen Fada, abbot of Hi, died.

714 St. Faolchuo, son of Dorbhen Mac Teinne, made abbot of Hi, æt. 74.

714 The family of Hi (the monks) expelled beyond Drimalbin, by Nectan king of the Picts.

716 St. Duncha (or Duncan), son of Cinnfaola, abbot of Hi, died; and Faolchuo, who had resigned his office to him, again resumes it.

720 St. Faolchuo, son of Dorben, abbot of Hi, died; Quat. Mag. The Annals of Ulster place his death in 723, and call him Faolan; which is the name retained by some of our old parishes.

725 St. Killean, or Cillian, surnamed Fada, abbot of Hi, died.

729 St. Egbert, who had remained 13 years in Hi, died.

744 Many of the people of Hi perished in a great storm.

747 St. Killean, surnamed Droicheach, abbot of Hi, died. (An. Ult. 751.)

754 St. Failbhe II. abbot of Hi, died, ætat. 87.

762 St. Slebhen, son of Conghal, abbot of Hi, died.

765 B. (Beatus) Nial, surnamed Frasach, king of Ireland (who had abdicated his kingdom, and had been for eight years in Hi), died.

767 St. Suibhne II. abbot of Hi, died. (An. Ult. say in 771.)

777 St. Muredhach (or Murdoch), son of Huagal, prior of Hi, (abbot) died.

786 B. Artgal Mac Catheld, king of Connaught, who had abdicated, died in pilgrimage in Hi, in the eighth year of his pilgrimage.

793 Devastation of all the isles by foreigners.

797 St. Bresal, son of Seigen, abbot of Hi (for 30 years), died. St. Conmhal, abbot of Hi (scriba selectissimus) died.

797 Hi burnt by foreign pirates.

801 Hi again burnt by pirates, and many of the family destroyed in the flames.

805 Of the family of Hi, 68 killed by foreigners.

810 St. Kellach, son of Conghal, abbot of Hi, died.

815 Constantin (or Cusandin), king of the Picts, builds the church of Dunkeld.

816 St. Dermit, abbot of Hi, goes to Albin with Columba's coffer or box (scrinium).

823 St. Blamhac, son of Flanni, abbot of Hi, crowned with martyrdom, being slain by the Nortmans (Norwegians) and Danes.

827 Ungust II. king of the Picts, founded Kilrimont, (St. Andrew's).

843 Kenneth Mac Alpin, after his conquest of the Picts, removes from the W. to the E. coast.

848 Jurastach, abbot of Hi, goes to Ireland with Columkille's sacred things.

849 Kenneth (III.) transported the relics of Columba to his new church. Pict. Chron.

852 Aulay (Amhlaidh), king of Lochlin, came to Ireland, and laid it under tribute.

835 The Coarb* (successor or representative) of Columkille, a wise and excellent man, martyred among the Saxons.

863 St. Cellach, son of Ailild, abbot of Hi, died in the land of the Cruthens (Picts.)

864 Tuahal, Mac Artgusa, archbishop of Fortren, and abbot of Dun-caillen (Dunkeld), died.

875 St. Columba's box is carried to Ireland, lest it should fall into the hands of the Danes.

877 B. Ferach Mac Cormaic, abbot of Hi, died. (Ann. Ult. say in 879.)

890 St. Andrew's, about this time, made independent of Iona, by King Grig. Reg. S. And.

990 St. Flan, or Flanna, son of Maolduine, ab. of Hi, died: in pace dormivit.

925 St. Maolbride, son of Dornan, Coarb (successor) of SS. Pat. Col. and Adomnan, died: "Caput religionis universæ Hibernæ, et majoris partis Europæ in venerabili senectute obiit, 22 Feb." Quat. Mag.

935 St. Aonghus, son of Murchartach, co-adjutor of the abbot of Hi, died.

937 Dubhard, Coarb of Colum-kille and Adomnan, rested in peace.

945 St. Caoinchomrach, abbot of Hi, died.

958 Dubhdhuin, Coarb of Columkill, died.

864 St. Fingin, bishop of Hi, died.

978 St. Mugron, a bishop; scribe, and notable teacher, surnamed Nan-tri-rann, Coarb of Columkill in Ireland and Scotland, died: felicem vitam finivit.

979 Amhlua (or Aulay,) son of Sitric, prince of the Nortmans (or Danes) after his defeat in the battle of Temora, took refuge in Hi, where he died.

985 The island of Hi pillaged on Christmas eve by the Nortmans, who killed the abbot and fifteen of the learned of the church.

* Coarb, or comhfhorb, "a *comh*, *i. e.* con, and *forb*, ager, patrimonium, Usurpatur, pro successione in dignitate Ecclesiastica;" *Colgan.* Coarb, or coirb, is still used in Gaelic to denote one's equal.

997 Patrick, Coarb of Columkill, died, ætat. 83.
988 Duncha, Coarb of Columkill, died.
1004 B. Maolbrighde Hua Remed, abbot of Hi, died.
1009 Martan Mac Cineadh, Coarb of Columkill, died.
1010 Muredach, Coarb of SS. Columba and Adomnan, an eminent professor of theology at Ardmagh, died.
1015 B. Flannai Abhra, abbot of Hi, died.
1057 Robhertach Mac Donell, Coarb of Columkill, died.
1070 B. Macbaithen, ab. of Hi, died.
1093 Magnus, king of Norway, subjugates the W. isles.
1099 B. Duncha, son of Moenach, abbot of Hi, died.
1126 The first legate, John of Crema, comes to Scotland, which is the first trace of Papal power there.
1152 Card. J. Papiro arrives in Ireland with four stoles or robes, sent by the Pope to four archbishops of Ireland.
1185 The relics of Columba brought to Down by order of John de Curci, (according to Gir. Cambrensis.)
1178 St. Patrician Huabranain, a venerable and holy bishop, died in Hi.
1188 B. Amblua Hua Doighre, a pilgrim in Hi, died in a venerable old age.
1199 St. Muireach Hua Baodain died in Hi.
1203 Ceallach built a monastery in Hi, in opposition to the learned of the place; upon which the clergy of the north of Ireland held a meeting; after which they came to Hi, and demolished the monastery of Ceallach.

KINGS CONTEMPORARY WITH ST. COLUMBA.

Of the Scots.		*Picts.*		*Strathclyde.*	*Ireland.*	
Conal I. began to reign.	560.	Brude II.	557.	Morken.	Dermit I.	544.
		Garnat IV.	587.	Roderk.	Fergus	565.
Aidan	575.				Donald I.	
					Amirach	566
					Beothan	569.
					Eoghan	
					Ed (or Aodh) I.	572.

No. VI.

AMONG those who conscientiously, and from foreseeing what it would inevitably lead to, opposed "Catholic Emancipation," no one took so decided a part as the late Lord Eldon. In a letter of his, dated April 1828, he says:—"The Dissenters' Bill is to be debated on the 17th,—we, who oppose, shall fight respectably and honourably; but victory cannot be ours. What is most calamitous of all is, that the archbishops and several bishops are against us. What they can mean, they best know, for nobody else can tell—and, sooner or later,—perhaps in this very year—almost certainly in the next,—the concessions to the Dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics." In another letter, dated the 9th of July, 1828, Lord Eldon, adds:—"Nothing is talked of now, which interests any body the least in the world, except the election of Mr. O'Connell (for Clare), and the mischief it will produce among debaters in the House of Commons, and the more serious mischief which it will, in all human probability, excite in Ireland.—At all events, this business must bring the Roman Catholic question, which has been so often discussed, to a crisis and a conclusion. The nature of that conclusion, I don't think likely to be favourable to Protestantism."

The speech at the opening of the session of 1829, announced that the crisis, Lord Eldon anticipated, was at hand. Prior to this, however, he had two audiences of George IV., for the purpose of presenting addresses against the ministerial measure; and Mr. Twiss, Lord Eldon's biographer, gives a long memorandum, as made by the Earl himself, descriptive of what took place at these audiences.—The first interview was on the 28th of March. His Majesty said:—"That at the time the administration was formed, no reason was given him to suppose any

measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics were intended or thought of by ministers: that he had frequently himself suggested the absolute necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association—of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, to destroy the powers of the most seditious and rebellious proceedings of the members of it, and particularly at the time that Lawless made his march; that instead of following what he had so strongly recommended, after some time, not a very long time before the present session, he was applied to, to allow his ministers to propose to him, as an united Cabinet, the opening the Parliament, by sending such a message as his speech contained: that, after much struggling against it, and after the measure had been strongly pressed upon him, as of absolute necessity, he had consented that the Protestant members of his cabinet, if they could so persuade themselves to act, might join in such a representation to him, *but that he would not then, nor in his recommendation to Parliament, pledge himself to any thing.* He repeatedly mentioned that he represented to his Ministers the infinite pain it gave him to consent even so far as that.

"He complained that he had never seen the bills—that the condition of Ireland had not been taken into consideration—that the Association Bill had been passed through both Houses before he had seen it—that it was a very inefficient measure compared to those he had in vain, himself, recommended—that the other proposed measures gave him the greatest possible pain and uneasiness—that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast—that he had nothing to fall back upon—that his ministers had threatened (I think he said twice, at the time of my seeing him), to resign, if the measures were not proceeded in, and that he had said to them, 'Go on,' when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state in which he was placed:—and that in one of those meetings, when resignation was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he gave by what passed in the interview between him and his Ministers, till the interview and the talk had brought him into such a state, that he hardly knew what he was about, when he, after several

hours, said, 'Go on.'—He then repeatedly expressed himself as in a state of the greatest misery, repeatedly saying, 'What can I do? I have nothing to fall back upon:' and musing for some time, and then again repeating the same expression.

"In this day's audience, his Majesty did not shew me many papers that he shewed me in the second. I collected from what passed in the second, that his consent to go on was in writings then shewn to me. After a great deal of time spent (still in the first interview), in which his Majesty was some time silent—apparently uneasy—occasionally stating his distress—the hard usage he had received—his wish to extricate himself—that he had not what to look to—what to fall back upon—that he was miserable beyond what he could express; I asked him whether his Majesty, so frequently thus expressing himself, meant either to enjoin me, or forbid, considering or trying whether any thing could be found or arranged, upon which he *could* fall back. He said, 'I neither enjoin you to do so, nor forbid you to do so; but, for God's sake, take care that I am not exposed to the humiliation of being again placed in such circumstances, that I must submit again to pray of my present ministers that they will remain with me.' He appeared to me to be exceedingly miserable, and intimated that he would see me again.

"I was not sent for afterwards, but went on Thursday, the 9th of April, with more addresses. In the second interview, the King repeatedly, and with some minutes interposed between his such repeated declaration, musing in silence in the interim, expressed his anguish, and pain, and misery, that the measure had even been thought of, and as often declared that he had been most harshly and cruelly treated—that he had been treated as a man, whose consent had been asked with a pistol pointed to his breast, or as obliged, if he did not give it, to leap down from a five pair of stairs window. What could he do? What had he to fall back upon?

"I told him that his late Majesty, when he did not mean that a measure proposed to him should pass, expressed his determination in the most early stage of the business: if it seemed to

himself necessary to dissent, he asked no advice without dismissing his ministers; he made that his own act—he trusted to what he had to hope for from his subjects, who, when he had placed himself in such circumstance, and protected them from the violence of party—if party, meaning to be violent, should get uppermost, could not leave him unsupported—that on the other hand, there could not but be great difficulties in finding persons willing to embark in office, when matters had proceeded to the extent to which the present measures had been carried —as was supposed, and had been *represented*, after full explanation of them to his Majesty; and he had so far assented.

"This led to his mentioning again what he had to say as to the assent. In the former interview, it had been represented that, after much conversation *twice* with his ministers, or such as had come down, he had said, 'Go on;' and upon the latter of those occasions, after many hours' fatigue, and exhausted by the fatigue of the conversation, he had said, 'Go on.' He now produced two papers, which he represented as *copies of what he had written to them, in which he assents to their proceeding* and going on with the bill, adding certainly in each, as he read them, *very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceedings gave him.* It struck me at the time that I should, if I had been in office, have felt considerable difficulty about going on after reading such expressions; but whatever might be fair observations as to giving, or not, effect to those expressions, *I told his Majesty, it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed*, or to cure the evils which were consequential, after the bill, in such circumstances, had been read a scond time, and in the Lords' House with a majority of 105. This led to much conversation upon that fact, that he had, he said, been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father—that, instead of 45 against the measure, there were twice that number of peers for it, that every thing was revolutionary—every thing was tending to revolution, and the peers and the aristocracy were giving way to it. They (he said, more than once or twice more) supported his father; but see what they had done to *him.*

I took the liberty to say that I agreed that matters were rapidly tending to revolution, that I had long thought what thismeasure of Catholic Emancipation was meant to be, and would certainly be a step towards producing it, that it was avowed as such with the Radicals in 1794, 5, and 6 :—that many of the Catholic Association were understood to have been engaged in all the transactions in Ireland, in 1798, and what had they not been threatening to do if this measure was not carried, and even if it was carried? But I thought it not just to some of the peers who voted for the bill, to suppose that they had been led, or misled, to believe that his Majesty had agreed and consented to it.

"He then began to talk about the coronation oath. On that I could only repeat what I had before said, if his Majesty meant me to say anything upon that subject. Understanding that he did so wish, I repeated that, as far as his oath was concerned, it was matter between him, God, and his conscience, whether giving his royal assent to this measure was 'supporting to the utmost of his power, the Protestant reformed religion.' That it was not my opinion, nor the opinions of archbishops, bishops, or lay peers (*all which he must know*, as well the opinions in favour of the measure, as those against it) that were to guide and govern him; but he was to act according to his own conscientious view of the obligations under which such an oath placed him.

"Little more passed, except occasional bursts of the expressions,—'What can I do? What can I now fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched; my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my consent, I'll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover: I'll return no more to England—I'll make no Roman Catholic peers—I will not do what this bill will enable me to do—I'll return no more; let them get a Catholic King in Clarence?' I think he also mentioned Sussex. 'The people will see that I did not wish this.'

"There were the strongest appearances certainly of misery. He, more than once, stopped my leaving him. When the time

came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck and expressed great misery. I left him about twenty minutes or a quarter before five.

"I certainly thought, when I left him, that he would express great difficulty, when the Bill was proposed for the Royal assent (great, but which would be overcome), about giving it. I fear that it seemed to be given as a matter of course.—(April 14th, 1829.) The fatal Bills received the Royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits, not a day's delay! God bless us, and his Church!" Lord Eldon adds, "I fought as well as I could, but I am not what I was; and I never was what a statesman—an accomplished statesman ought to be. Indeed a lawyer hardly can be both learned in his profession and accomplished in political science. The country will feel, deeply feel, the evils arising from this late measure. Not that those evils will be felt in immediate effects. Those in whose favour the measure has taken place are too wary—far too wary, to give an alarm immediately; but few years will pass before its direful effects will be made manifest in the ruin of some of our most sacred, and most revered, and most useful establishments."

THE END.

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